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ART. I. *Life and Times of Confucius: notices of his ancestors, and of the time, place and circumstances of his birth.* Selected from the Annals and Genealogy of the Sage, and other Chinese works.

By way of introduction to the study of the life and times of Confucius, we have already stated some facts designed to show in what estimation he is *now* held by the rulers and people of China, and have drawn the attention of our readers to the Annals and Genealogy of their "most holy sage." We will now proceed to sketch the history of the Confucian family prior to his birth, and will then add the principal facts which we find on record concerning the time, place, and circumstances of that event. As far as practicable, we shall avoid the repetition of such details as we have already given, taking care at the same time not to omit any that are essential to a full exhibition of the character of this deified mortal. With the vagaries of pagan fancy we shall have as little to do as we can, restricting ourselves to such particulars as soberminded Chinese receive as authentic facts. If we may venture upon the comparison, what we find written by inspired men, regarding our Savior's birth and lineage, we *know* to be true; but far otherwise is it with respect to Confucius. We would guard equally against the two extremes, either of placing too high or too low an estimate on the Chinese record of facts. In the present case, it will be remembered that the *facts*, of which we are about to review the record, transpired more than twenty-four centuries ago, and we suppose we may justly claim for it the same degree of credibility and authenticity that can be claimed for any other pagan record of equal

the father of Confucius. Thus counting from the great progenitor of the family to the father of Confucius, we have.

- 1st, down to the end of the Hiá family nineteen generations ;
- 2d, down to the end of the Sháng family, twenty-eight generations ;
- 3d, in the Sung state, ending with K'ung Fuhkiá, ten generations ;
- 4th, in the Lú state, ending with K'ung Shuhliáng, five generations.

According to Chinese historians we thus have sixty-two generations, commencing with Kieh and ending with Kieh or K'ung Shuhliáng, and extending the line of the family through a period of more than eighteen hundred years.

The twenty-third monarch of the Chau dynasty was Ling-wáng, whose reign commenced *b. c.* 571. Under this monarch Kieh, the father of Confucius, held the rank of minister, and the office of chief magistrate in the department of Tsau 鄆. For his first wife he married a lady of his native state, who belonged to the family Shí 施. By this lady he had nine children, all daughters. By a concubine he had also one son, called Mangpí 孟皮, and sometimes Pehpí 伯皮, and Pehní 伯尼. This was a feeble child, with diseased feet, and was not considered by his father as worthy to bear up the line of succession. Kieh, therefore, sought a second wife in the Yen 顏 family, resident in a neighboring hamlet.

Having called before him his three daughters, the master of the family, Mr. Yen, thus addressed them: "The governor of Tsau, whose father and grandfather have both held the office of minister of state, is the descendant of an ancient sage, the sovereign Chingtáng; in stature he is ten cubits (6 *ft.* 10½ *inches*), and in martial strength he excels all other men. I am very desirous of having him for my son-in-law. Although he is far advanced in years, and possesses a grave disposition, there is yet no reason to doubt that he will prove himself a worthy husband. Which of you three, my daughters, is now willing to become his consort? To this address, the two elder gave no reply; the youngest, Miss Chingtsü, advancing said; "In this matter I can only act according to my father's directions: why inquire of us?" The father replied: "You, my child, are the one who is able to become his spouse." Accordingly the matter was concluded, Mr. Yen at once complying with the solicitations of the hoary suitor, and the fair damsel, Miss Chingtsü 徵在, was given to him in marriage.

The husband was now in his sixty-fifth year, and both he and his young consort were equally anxious to secure the birth of a son—a worthy heir. In this state of mind they together repaired to a hilly region distant about sixty *li* south-east from Kieh-fau. Of five

notable peaks for which that region is remarkable, they selected the central and highest one, called Nikiú 尼邱. This they ascended; and on its summit offered sacrifices to the presiding divinities, and prayed to them for a son.—The historians, gravely tell us, that as the lady, on this pilgrimage to the gods of Nikiú, went up along the ravines to the summit of the hill, all the leaves of the forest stood erect; and all drooped and hung down as she descended!

Soon after their return home at Kiuehli, a Chinese unicorn,—the fabulous Kílin, which is always the harbinger of good,—appeared and vomited a gem, on which was the following inscription:

Shwui tsing chí tsz' ki shwái Chau urh sú wáng,
 水晶之子 繼 衰 周 而 素 王;
water crystal's child succeeds decaying Chau and plainly rules.

The lady was surprised at this; and, taking an embroidered girdle, she bound it round the horn of the unicorn; which, after having remained two nights in the village, took its departure; and was never more seen alive. Keeping in mind that the *kílin* is a mere creature of imagination, we need not trouble ourselves or our readers with any long explanations of the above inscription. *Sú wáng* denotes one of such distinguished powers, that he can rule mankind without the insignia of royalty. *Shwui tsing* is rock-crystal; and *Shwui tsing chí tsz'* is thought to denote a faultless child, or one of perfect purity. And the full import of the inscription, taken to be prophetic, might be expressed thus; A child of perfect purity shall be born in this village; succeeding in his generation, at an era when the Chau dynasty is on the decline, he shall restore and prolong its lustre, and shall reign without wearing the title and insignia of royalty.

Eleven months had now elapsed since the newly wedded pair had offered their sacrifices and their prayers on the summit of Nikiú. On the memorable night when Confucius was to be born, two dragons were seen crawling over the roof of the house; five elders appeared in the great hall; celestial music was heard in the firmament; and two goddesses descended, bearing a vase of fragrant waters, with which they bathed the happy mother.

The exact time of the birth of Confucius has been a matter of almost endless discussion. The authors of the Annals and Genealogy of the sage, say it was in the 21st year of Ling-wáng, the 8th month, and 27th day of the month, at 3 o'clock P. M. This was in the autumn of B. C. 551.

The place where this occurred was *Kiuehli* 闕里 in the state Lú, now the southern part of the province Shantung, in the depart-

ment of Yenchau 兗州. It would appear that he was born in the present district of Sz'shwui 泗水, and that he early removed from that to Kiuhsau 曲阜. There, or in that region, there was a city, which was called the city of Lú. It was four square, and had twelve gates, three on each side. Near one of the western gates was the ancient house of the great Chinese philosopher.

We have now, as we proposed, briefly traced the early history of the Confucian family, and indicated the time, place, and circumstances of the birth of that man, who, probably, has influenced the destinies of his fellowmen far more than has ever been done by any other mortal. What this influence has been, how it has been exerted, and what have been its results, can be ascertained only by a careful study of his life and of his writings in their progress down to the present time. Before entering on such a task, one more preliminary step seems essential; and that is, a survey of the geography of China during the Confucian age.

ART. II. *Notices of Chinese Cosmogony: formation of the visible universe, heaven, earth, the sun, moon, stars, man, beasts, &c.,*

Selected from the Complete Works of Ch'ü Hí of the Sung dynasty.

WHEN endeavoring to exhibit the opinions of any people, we should as far as possible allow their ablest men to speak. Our part should be to bring forward what they have written, and present in the clearest manner their own ideas. We should act as their interpreters, and as the expounders of their ideas and their sentiments. This is what we wish to do for the Chinese. In behalf of their ancient sages, their ablest philosophers, and their popular writers, we wish to unfold their respective systems of morals and philosophy; and we wish to do this, not mainly for the intrinsic value of those systems—for many of them in this age of the world have no value, are mere monuments of human folly,—but because such a development of the Chinese mind is essential to profitable intercourse with this people—profitable, whether we have reference to any advantages that may accrue to ourselves or to them, or to both. The Chinese talk much of self-renovation, of self-reform, &c., but it is mere talk. If reform comes to the nation, and it surely will come, it must come from abroad, and be the result of an external agency. That we may touch the proper springs of action so as to produce the desired results, it is essential to know what the Chinese

are in their manners and habits, both of thought and action. In philosophy, properly so called, they are as a nation mere babes. Both in physics and metaphysics they are equally puerile. Probably not one in a thousand, even among the literati, has any correct notion of the solar system. The sagacity of Confucius consisted, if we mistake not, in his abstaining from speculation about things of which he knew nothing. The philosophers of later times acted otherwise, as the writings of Chú Hí and others who flourished in the early part of the Sung dynasty abundantly testify.

In the complete works of Chú, chapter 49th, we have a collection of his remarks on *cosmogony*. From these we propose to select and translate some paragraphs, sufficient to satisfy the general reader, and to show what are the opinions of the Chinese regarding the visible universe and the manner and agency by which, they suppose, the present order of things arose. We shall number the paragraphs, and add such comments of our own as may seem called for, in order to illustrate the meaning of the text.

§ 1. FORMATION OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.

“In the beginning of heaven and earth there existed only one primordial substance, in dual form. Revolving and grinding round and round with great velocity, this expressed an abundance of sediment. Having no place of exit from within, this sediment formed the earth in its centre, while the finer parts of the primordial substance formed heaven, the sun, the moon, and the stars. These externally situated, have unceasingly revolved in their respective spheres; while the earth, being in their centre and not beneath them, has remained immovable.”

Comments.

The time here referred to, is that when the present order of things, as displayed in the visible universe, arose,—an order which forms only a single link in an endless chain: for of creation, as described by inspired writers, the Chinese have no knowledge. On the phrase “primordial substance in dual form,” *Yin Yang Chi K'i*, let it suffice for the present to remark that *K'i* often denotes vital essence, &c., and that *Yin* and *Yang* are used to indicate the form, or manner in which any and all substance is supposed to exist. The *modus operandi* by which the universe was made to assume its present shape, is evidently borrowed from the homely method of making flour by the use of upper and nether millstones. The figure, if we may so designate this comparison, is incomplete and borders upon the ridiculous. The *K'i* or primordial substance, is to be conceived of as one dark, vast, uniform, active mass—no matter whence derived or of what composed—shut up

in an immense egg, cylinder or globe. There confined, this substance, like the waters of some great whirlpool, and put in motion no one knows how, revolves with intense velocity. Forthwith there is expressed, in a manner undescribed, a stupendous pile, which, freed from the grinding operation, concretes and forms the Earth. Another portion of the same substance, also freed from the grinding process, forms heaven, the sun, moon and stars! In this way the great Chinese philosopher introduces to our acquaintance the visible universe, as we now behold it.

§ 2. THE EARTH IMMOVABLE.

“By the ceaseless revolution of heaven, day and night come round in regular succession, and the earth is made fast in the centre. If heaven should stand still for an instant, the earth would then rush downwards; but by the intense revolving of heaven an immense quantity of sediment has been formed into a solid mass in the centre. This sediment of the primordial substance is the earth. Hence we say, the light and pure part thereof formed heaven; while the coarse and heavy formed the earth.”

Comments.

No language need be more explicit than this. The earth is immovable, made fast in one position; and it and all things visible are the product of (the furniture produced from) one single substance.

§ 3. MATERIALITY OF HEAVEN.

If asked, “Is heaven a material substance or not?” I would say: It is merely revolving wind, in the higher regions dense, in the lower rare. That on high, the Budhistic writers call, “adamantine wind.” Men commonly say that heaven has nine stories, and they divide and designate nine places. Such, however, is not the case. There are but nine spheres. The primordial substance in the lower ones is comparatively coarse and dark; but in the upper ones, in the most elevated regions, it is the purest and brightest.”

Comments.

If we have rightly understood the philosopher here, and have given the true sense of his words—as we think we have done, he does not fairly meet the difficulty involved in his proposed question. “Revolving wind” is a literal translation of the text; and it denotes nothing more nor less than the primordial substance in a fluid state, “revolving and grinding round and round”. He has not, therefore, solved the difficulty, but merely introduced a new term *fung*, or wind, which he uses to designate the same *K'i*, or primordial substance, in a rarified and revolving state. The problem still remains then to be solved, Is heaven a material substance or not?

§ 4. AGENCY EMPLOYED IN THE FORMATION OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.

In the beginning of heaven and earth, ere the chaotic mass was divided, I suppose there existed only water and fire, and that the sediment of the water formed the earth. If we now ascend heights and look abroad, the mountain ridges, just like watery billows, all have appearance of ocean waves. But as to the time when this chaotic mass become condensed we are ignorant. At first it must have been exceedingly soft, but subsequently it condensed and became very hard. If asked, "May we consider the process like the action of the tides in throwing up banks of sand?" I would answer, yes; the most muddy waters formed the earth; while the purest part of the fire formed the wind, thunder, lightning, sun, stars, etc."

Comments.

The formation of the visible universe our philosopher still leaves involved in mystery. The *one* primordial substance is here spoken of as a chaotic mass, in which fire and water are combined. Thus instead of one, we have *two*; but whether these two are distinct substances or only the one in dual form, it is not declared. In another paragraph he says: "Ere chaos was reduced to order, the primordial substance in dual form was indiscriminately united in one dark abyss; but after a division took place in this substance light beamed forth, and a dual form began to appear." All this carries us no farther forward, and we are still left uninformed as to the nature of the primordial substance.

§ 5. ANTEMUNDANE ERAS.

"If asked, "How was it in eras prior to the present order of the visible universe, which arose less than ten thousand years ago?" I would answer, evidently the same order must have existed then as at present.

Comments.

In support of this, the opinions of other philosophers are quoted. One of these, *Sháu Kangtsich*, supposed that a hundred and twenty nine thousand and six hundred years were required to form one era, during which time there was one great evolution and involution, an unfolding and folding up of the visible universe; and that this era of 129,600 years was preceded by others of like duration.

§ 6. INDESTRUCTIBILITY OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.

"If the question be asked, "are heaven and earth destructible or not?" I would say, they are not destructible. But when the human race has sunk to the lowest degree of folly, the heaven and earth will be wrapt together again in one chaotic mass, and the human race and all other beings in the visible universe will become extinct. After this a new order of things will arise."

Comments.

Here again the writer brings forward the opinion of the earlier philosophers to support his own. One of them he represents as saying that, in process of time "the primordial substance will make a great pause, a dreadful concussion far and wide will succeed, the mountains will be overturned and the rivers cease to flow, the human race and all other beings will disappear, and every trace of the old order of things will be wholly obliterated." "This" he says "is what we call an age of desolation." Further in proof of this position, Chú brings forward, and comments upon, what thousands of others have observed, the existence of marine substances in high mountain rocks. On these phenomena he says he has pondered deeply, and thinks those shells &c., must have been deposited in the rocks when they were in a liquid state before they were elevated into dry land and lofty hills. Here he reasons well enough.

§ 7. FORMATION OF THE FIRST MAN.

Again, if the question were asked, "How was the first man of the human race produced?" I would say, he was formed by and out of the primordial substance. The purer parts of water, fire, wood, metal and earth, in their dual form, by uniting gave man his form and shape."

Comments.

With this account of the first man, the best the great philosopher could give, he was evidently dissatisfied, and, contemner as he was of the Budhists, he proceeds to quote their language, in order to illustrate and establish what he himself had affirmed. The writers of the Budhistic school, he says, call this formation of man "renovating production, just as at the present time there is exhibited, the renovating production of beings very many; as the louse for instance." This allusion to the *Pediculus*, Chú doubtless intended as a sneer at the "beggary tribes" of the Budhistic priesthood, so famed for their regard to that parasitic insect, forgetful we may suppose, for he could not be ignorant, that by the adoption of his philosophy the genus *homo* and the genus *Pediculus* must be placed on perfect equality.

8. SHAPE OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.

"The earth has in it open vacant places; heaven on the contrary, upon all sides, above and below, round the whole sphere, is fast closed and impervious. The earth on its four sides below, rests upon heaven; and accordingly heaven surrounds the earth. As heaven alone revolves, it may be seen that the primordial substance pervades every part thereof; and as it passes through and from the earth the great breadth thereof also may be seen."

Comments.

Conceiving wrongly, as he does, that the earth is immovable, it is not to be wondered at that the Chinese philosopher should entertain erroneous ideas regarding its shape. He does not, as far as we are acquainted with his writings, any where tell us plainly what he supposed to be its exact shape. We may infer however, from what he has told us in the foregoing paragraphs, that he fancied it to be an irregular perforated mass, drawn out and expanded like a plain of indefinite or unknown dimensions. In like manner, his ideas regarding the shape of heaven are equally vague. From some of his expressions, we might be ready to conclude that he conceived heaven to be one immense globe; but again he compared heaven to a drum, and gives us the idea of a great cylindric shell, with an outer surface hard as adamant, and hermetically sealed at the two ends!

ART. III. *Memoir on the condition of Slaves and Hired Servants in China.* By M. Edward Biot.

I propose to myself, in this memoir to set forth with some explanations the condition of slaves and hired servants in Chinese society, a question on which I have already pointed out several features in my memoir on the variations of the population of China. Slavery yet exists at the present day over the greater part of the globe, and generally the slave is under the absolute power of his master. In China, although the principle of the equality of men before the laws is not admitted, the actual legislation defines the condition of the slave with reference to his master and other freemen. Next above him, the hired servant finds himself subjected to particular laws, and the wife of the second rank, or legal concubine, has also her rights which she can make good. In the scale of moral civilisation, Chinese legislation relative to domestic servants ranks immediately after that of the really civilised nations of Europe. It excels that which obtains in Russia as well as in the two Americas. The study of its present and former regulations, the history of the slow and successive modifications which time has produced in the condition of slaves in China, appear to me subjects worthy of attention.

There are but few documents in Chinese history that relate to slaves; they have been gathered together by *Má Twánlin*, and tacked on by him to his section on the population. (*Wan hien tung kiáu.*) The appendix consists only of a dozen pages; and is composed of detached quotations; taken from different Chinese works of which even the names are not given; and here, like the rest of the *Wan hien tung kiáu* these quotations are often very short, and are not accompanied by any comment, so that one is very apt to fall into errors in making a literal translation. Nevertheless many published ordinances are found in this appendix for the protection of the lives of slaves and for making them free, and many important dates can be fixed. I ought to give my grateful thanks to M. Stanislas Julien for the extreme kindness with which he has most readily elucidated for me the numerous passages which I have submitted to him. A complete translation of this appendix is too perilous an enterprise for any other one except himself, in France, to undertake the responsibility of it.

The ancient legislation of the Chinese on the class of domestic servants or slaves, is sufficiently incomplete, like that of the ancient nations of Europe.

Documents become more numerous in modern times. The penal code of the Manchus determines the position of slaves, of hired servants, of wives of the second rank, and in general of all persons in a servile condition. Sir George Staunton translated this important work when in China, where he could avail himself of the necessary explanations; and I have a copy of the original text, by which I am enabled to examine the supplementary statutes, which are generally omitted in the translation. By means of the documents furnished by this code and some other compositions translated from the Chinese, I hope to present a work sufficiently complete on the subject which I have taken in hand.

When I shall quote the code, I shall affix the title of the section and the number of the English translation. As to historical quotation, I shall refer to the appendix of *Mâ Twánlin* on slaves, from which they will be generally taken; and the year or the page being pointed out will make a reference to the Chinese text easy.

The character 奴 *nú*, slave, designates two species of individuals; the one, named *Kwán-nú* slaves of the state or of the government; the other, slaves of private persons.

The character 奴 *slave*, is first met with under the *Chau* dynasty (towards the 12th century B. C.); it was then applied to the slaves of the state. According to the *Book of Ceremonies* of this dynasty, the *Chau Li*, persons guilty of certain crimes were condemned to be slaves to the state; as such they were bound to do certain obligatory labors under the inspection of the officers of government (Appendix on slaves, page 1). This kind of punishment, similar to our condemnation to hard labor, is not found amongst those established under the preceding dynasties, *Hiá* and *Sháng*: in those primitive ages punishments were corporal and immediate. According to the *Chau Li* (*Kanghí's* dict., character 奴), dignitaries, old men of 70 years, and little children could not be condemned to become public slaves.

The *Chau Li* does not acknowledge any other kind of slaves than those who are condemned to slavery for their crimes. Service in the houses of the rich is done by hired servants or by wives of the second rank, who change their masters at will (Appendix on slaves page 1). These hired servants, as well as the slaves of the state, are not included in the class which pay taxes. According to the strict letter of the law, private families were not then allowed to possess slaves.

It is probable that the prisoners made by the Tartars and the neighboring tribes were slaves of the state as well as sentenced criminals; but the ancient books are silent on this subject. At a later period, about the sixth or seventh century of our era, the feudal system of the *Chau* dynasty fell to pieces by the insubordination of the great vassals; each of whom, having their provincial laws, often prosecuted and put to death their dependants.

About the 20th year B. C. the founder of the *Hán* dynasty said the parents might sell their children. This concession is of a prior date to the laws regulating slavery. Before the accession of the founder of the *Hán* dynasty, *Tsin*, the first *Supreme* emperor had waged cruel wars—misery spread through the country, and the consequence of this misery was the legalisation of slavery, and it has continued to the present time.*

Under the *Hán* dynasties, rebels with their families were condemned to be slaves of the state (Appendix, page 1.) Thus *Kingti*, towards the year 168 before Jesus Christ, condemned the inhabitants of seven revolted provinces with their princes to be slaves of the state. His successor, *Wütí*, pardoned those unfortunate people. Criminals were always punished with slavery. The number of the slaves of the state under the *Hán* dynasties was considerable, although it is not possible to state the exact amount. In the time of *Yüntí*,

* This law of the *Chau* dynasty offers a remarkable resemblance to those of the ancient Persian empire. The population of Persia was divided into four classes. That of China is divided into nine classes, of which the first eight contribute to the wants of government,—hired servants composing the ninth.

this amount is noted as exceeding 100,000 (Appendix page 2); there are other authorities which carry their number much higher: thus a quotation inserted in Morrison's dictionary, under the character 奴, states that under the *Hán* dynasty there were 300,000 slaves on the large imperial farms, who had charge of the cattle, and, according to a quotation of the appendix, page 2, they formed a part of the slaves of the state. Another portion of the condemned were put under the orders of various officers, and employed in work of all kinds.

During the reigns of the Eastern *Hán*, which synchronize with the two first centuries of our era, the prisoners made during the civil wars became slaves of the state; afterwards they were freed, and then reentered the class of the people. These same slaves of the state are found under the *Hán-chau*, toward the middle of the 6th century. An ordinance delivered in 566 by one of these princes, declares all slaves of the state more than sixty-five years of age to be free, thus renewing the ancient ordinance of the first *Chau* dynasty. This grant of freedom appears not to be the result of a feeling of humanity for the aged. In this case, as with the Romans, the end was to get rid of a number of useless hands. The slaves of government ought always to have been composed of prisoners and criminals, although the punishment of public slavery is not alluded to in the section on punishments of the *Wan-hien-tung-kiou*. In the preface to this section *Má Tsoánlin* says that, under the *Hán* and the following dynasties, after capital punishment, there were two principal kinds of correction: they either whipped the guilty person, or shaved his head, in order to distinguish him from the people, who then wore their hair long, and they put irons either on his neck or feet. This last punishment appears to have been an introduction to hard labor.

Under the *Táng* dynasty, which began A. D. 620, rebels as well as their families were sentenced to be slaves of the state (Appendix p. 4). As such, they found themselves subjected to inspecting officers. The youngest, of about fourteen years, were divided amongst the imperial domains by the superintendent of agriculture; others were employed in making terraces. But, as China had been so much impoverished by its wars, that there were at that time a great number of slaves in private families, the first emperors of the *Táng* dynasty freed by decrees many of the government slaves, divided them between the central and western provinces, and thus increased the numbers of the cultivators of the soil. These emperors re-established the ancient punishments of the whip and bamboo, then fallen into disuse, the shaving of the head and putting irons on the neck being substituted (Preface to the section on punishments). This measure appears to me to have been adopted, like the first, to diminish those masses of public slaves from whom the state found it difficult to derive any advantage. The *Táng* dynasty also instituted the punishment of transportation, which leads at the present time to forced labor. It is very probable they were at the time the same.

Towards the end of the *Táng*, it is seen that the prisoners made in the civil wars were often set at liberty by imperial order; and since, under the *Sung* and following dynasties, the pages of history speak no longer of the slaves of government but of persons sentenced to transportation. It appears then that the state has definitively renounced the task of maintaining in the country those masses of public slaves which existed under the *Hán* dynasty.

In the code of the reigning dynasty, that of the Manchus, termed the *Ta-tsing*, or eminently pure dynasty, the list of legal punishments does not contain that of public slavery; but that of banishment is a real slavery where the sentenced are obliged to work under the superintendence of officers of government. This is sufficiently proved by various passages. Thus, after the section of the law relating to violent robbery (section CCLXVI of the translation) a criminal is punished by suffering perpetual slavery on the farthest frontiers of Tartary, near the black-dragon river, the *Amour* or *Saghalien*. In that section which relates to the labors to which the transported criminals are subjected for a time (CCCCXIX of the translation), they are employed in the iron and salt-mines of government out of their native provinces: thus the punishment of banishment is similar to the ancient public slavery, and even more severe, since formerly the slave of the state was employed in China itself, whilst at the

present day the public works in China proper appear to be done by freemen. In fact, the first section referring to the division of public works, allows a fair enough remuneration, considering the price of the means of living in China to those persons employed in the public works under the officers of government. Another section forbids the officers to detain the workmen beyond the stated time. These indulgences are only conferred on freemen, whilst forced labor is only the lot of transported criminals. The term, slave of the state, is only found, in its true sense, in one section of the code, that numbered LXXXVII. In case of founding a new monastery without the authority of government, the priest is stripped of his sacred character and sent into perpetual banishment. The guilty priestess becomes a slave of the government. It is probable she is made a slave of the imperial household.

As to persons guilty of rebellion, the code directs that the criminals shall be beheaded, that their relations in the first degree, their wives and children shall be given as slaves to the principal officers, and their property confiscated for the benefit of the state. These slaves are employed on particular services about the persons of the officers; but if they are too numerous they are deported as well as the ordinary criminals; the Chinese government having well understood that the public works in the interior cost it generally dearer when executed by convicts, than by directing the labor of an immense population to their erection, who demand only to gain a livelihood by their work, it has therefore thrown back the convicts on the frontier, where the population is small, the climate cold, and there it can employ them with advantage in hard labor. Sometimes also these criminals are incorporated in the disciplined companies stationed on the same frontier.

The class of slaves of private persons are composed, firstly of prisoners of war; secondly of persons who sell themselves or are sold by others; thirdly of the children of slaves.

The prisoners made in the civil or foreign wars, have been since the *Hán* dynasty sold for slaves. Many examples are to be found under *Kwáng-wú*; towards the first years of the 6th century. In consequence of the invasion of the northern kings, a great part of the population of the south of China were made prisoners and slaves. At the end of the *T'ing* dynasty and under the five later dynasties, during the civil war, the emperors repurchased with their own money the cultivators of the soil made prisoners by their armies. The Mongol invasion threw again a great number of all classes of Chinese into slavery. According to the present code, the families of rebels are distributed as slaves to the principal officers. As to foreign prisoners, few are to be found at the present day in China, from the natural effect of the long peace which she has enjoyed under the dominion of the Manchus; at most some Tibetan slaves are to be found on the borders of the province of *Sz'-chuen*.

The number of persons whom misery forces to sell themselves, or are sold by their parents, is actually very considerable. This is a fact verified by the missionaries and other European voyagers. Nevertheless the penal code forbids the sale of free persons: and, according to the letter of the text, even the father of a family must not sell his children. In the division of criminal laws, section cclxxv. respecting *kidnappers and those who forcibly carry away and sell free persons*, this crime is repressed by severe punishments. Generally speaking, whoever forcibly carries away and sells a free person is subjected to one hundred blows of the bamboo and to banishment to a distance of one hundred *li*. If the person forced away has been wounded in resisting, the criminal is punished by strangulation. After these regulations it is said: "Every person who sells his children or grandchildren against their consent shall be punished with 84 blows.

"Every person who sells after the manner above stated his young brothers and sisters, his nephews and nieces, his own inferior wife or the principal wife of his son or grandson, shall be punished with 80 blows and banishment for two years. For the sale of the inferior wife of a son or grandson, the punishment shall be two degrees less. To conclude, whoever sells his grand-nephew, his young first cousin, or his second cousin, always with the same provisos, that is, without their consent, shall receive ninety blows, and shall be banished for two years and a half.

“When, in all the preceding cases, the sale of a person shall be made with his own free consent, the punishment on the seller shall be one degree less than that which he would have undergone if the said sale had been completed against the will of that person

“Children or young relations, although having consented to be illegally sold, shall not be subjected to any punishment, on account of the obedience they owed to their older relations, and according to this position, they shall be returned to their families.”

These prohibitions are positive. Severe punishments are equally ordered in the section of regulations relative to successions, against those who keep as a slave in their house the child of a freeman and against those who do not inform the magistrate of a lost child whom they have met and keep in their house. Under the same title of the fiscal laws, punishments are ordered for him who hires his own wife or daughter to another, and against him who accepts the bargain. Nevertheless, as the evidence of the missionaries and of Staunton himself, by a note appended to the translation of this article, prove the adoption of children stolen or lost, the sale of free children, and the exchange for money of inferior wives, are daily transactions in China, and fathers of families receive, in the sight of all the world, money for the sale of their sons and daughters. Many instances are seen in the Chinese novels, which are a faithful picture of the manners of this country. This is explained by the immense inundations and dreadful famines which have, successively from time to time, devastated the vast plains of which the most populous provinces of China are composed. Then the misery and want of the people carried them beyond that law, dictated by a feeling which is as politic as it is moral. The ordinance of the first *Hin* dynasty was less strict, since it secretly permitted fathers to sell their children. The tolerance of slavery caused by misery, and the frequency of infanticides, are without contradiction the strongest proofs of the immense population with which China is encumbered and of the terrible calamities which have often nearly decimated it.

The children of slaves compose, in the eye of the law, the real individual class whence private slavery should be recruited. Every slave born in a house belongs to his master or to his heir, and is transmitted like a saleable commodity. Thus, in the penal code, third division of the fiscal laws, section regarding lost children, every lost or runaway child, if he is the son of a freeman, ought to be brought back to his parents. The detainer and fraudulent receiver is punished with the *hambou* and banishment. In general, whoever disposes of a runaway slave is subject to severe punishment, and the slave is to be given up to his master.

It is from the children of slaves that the wandering troops of players recruit their numbers, they are forbidden by the code to buy free persons for the profession of either actors or actresses. Courtesans or public women are also recruited from the daughters of slaves, and the law regards them in the same light as actresses. These regulations came in with the Mongol code and were established by an ordinance of the fourth year of *Kublai Khan*.

The wife of the second rank or concubine, ranks above the slave. A father of a family can legally give his daughter to another citizen as an inferior wife, but generally, according to the law and to the descriptions in novels, this marriage is accompanied by certain lesser formalities than the marriage, with the principal wife. In case of separation, the husband cannot send her away from his house, except for reasons which are decided by the law, otherwise he is punished, also if she deserts the house of her husband she is punished according to the same degree of chastisement that is appointed for the principal wife; but this chastisement is lessened one degree. A different punishment is decreed for the female slave who deserts the house of her master. In general, the penalties respecting the principal wife, are the same, to one degree less, for the wife of the second rank. Both of them are in a complete state of tutelage with respect to their husband. Neither the one nor the other can sue for divorce only so far as the husband may consent, and they have not the right of complaining of the blows which he may give them, except in the case of serious wounds. But in the house the inferior must be obedient to and respect the

principal wife, and is put directly under her orders. It ought here to be remarked that the law is not very strictly observed, and that very often husbands sell their wives of the second rank, their consent being supposed and not obtained.

The children of the wife of the second rank can succeed, but only after those of the principal wife. The Chinese in general regard it as a most important matter to perpetuate the name of their family, and upon this principle the rule of successions is based. Daughters have no other part of the inheritance than the peculiar advantages they may receive as gifts whilst living with their father. Amongst the male children, all the estate appears to belong to the eldest son of the principal wife, or to the grandson of this eldest son if he be no more. He becomes the head of the family at the death of the father, and, by this title, it is his duty to support and harbor in the house the other children of the two beds, as if he were their father. If the principal wife has not had a son when she is fifty years old, the husband can choose as his heir the eldest son of any of his other wives, but the eldest only. This eldest son becomes heir of the name and chief of the family at the death of the father. If there are no children from either the first or second beds, the husband can adopt the son of one of his relations, or of a man of the same name as his own, who has other sons. He cannot send this adopted son back: he cannot adopt the son of a man who does not bear his own name.

During the lifetime of their parents, children are considered as being in a state of tutelage, and are not at liberty to leave the paternal mansion. If their natural tutors consent to the separation, it appears that the property must be equally divided (Section LXXXVII). During the time of mourning for the great relations of father and mother, the eldest son is the head of the family, and his brothers cannot dispose of any part of the inheritance. After this time, those brothers who do not choose to marry, are allowed to remain with their eldest brother; but if they separate, he divides the inheritance into equal portions, whatever be the rank of birth, whether sons of the principal wife, or of the wife of the second rank, or even sons of a slave. This is inserted textually in a supplementary statute joined to the 88th section, respecting the *youngest and last members of a family disposing of their property without authority*. As this supplementary statute has been translated by Staunton, and, since it rules the method of succession in China, I shall translate and introduce it into the text.

“As to the children of the principal wife or wife of the second rank, the males can succeed. Except in the case of an hereditary dignity, every thing in the first place falls to the eldest son of the principal wife, or to the son of this eldest son, if he is no more. This first heir divides the goods and lands between all the sons, without enquiring whether they are sons of the principal wife, of wives of the second rank or of slaves. The divisions must be equal, according to the number of sons. As to sons born in adultery, their share is only half that of the sons of the wives of the first and second rank. If no son of the first or second rank is living, then the individual adopted comes to the succession. He divides half with the sons born in adultery. If there is no son by adoption, then the son born in adultery succeeds to the whole.

“If a family becomes extinct, and there is no man of the same name called to the inheritance by adoption, then, if any females are living allied to this family, they inherit. If none are living, then it is the duty of the magistrate of the district to explain the circumstance clearly to his superior officer, who, after having examined into the affair, confiscates the property of the extinct family to the public treasury.”

It is probable that the equal division between the eldest son who disposes of the property and the other sons, especially those of the second rank, is not rigorously observed as it follows from this statute; but it is clearly seen that daughters do not succeed except in default of males, and plurality of wives being general in China, they can succeed but very rarely. A Chinese considers himself unfortunate if he has not a son, legitimate or adopted, to bury him. Infanticide, so common in the central provinces, is almost always practised on daughters; and, according to the report of the latest European missionaries, dealers are in the habit of buying or stealing girls in the Northern provinces,

for the purpose of afterward selling them in the Central and Southern provinces, where they are wanted.

Although the son of the wife of the second rank has a right to the succession, his mother is always dependent on the principal wife. Nevertheless, after the death of the husband, if she continue a widow, she has a right to a certain consideration, and is competent to defend the rights of her son in courts of law.

In explanation of the articles of the Code to which I have referred, I will quote from two Chinese plays and a novel, translated into the European languages, in which the whole plot turns on the difficulties opposed to the succession of a son of the second rank.

The name of the tale is the Mysterious Picture: it was translated by M. Julien, and added to his translation of the Orphan of Cháu. A magistrate has had an only son by his first wife. Being very old, he married a wife of the second rank; and had a son by her. When this son was five years old, his father fell sick, and summoning his eldest son told him he should give a share of his fortune to his second wife; but as she was too young to take good care of it, he rather preferred to appoint his eldest son the general legatee, and to leave the mother and the son of the second rank dependent on his eldest son, who would then consider them as members of the family, bring up the child, and maintain the mother, if she continued a widow. The father died, and the eldest son conducted himself badly; he would not acknowledge the child to be his father's son; he tried to entrap the mother into a second marriage, and sent them both away to a cottage. But the deceased had left to his second wife a mysterious picture, of which a certain judge at length found out the meaning. This judge discovered a treasure hidden in the ground, and destined for the son of the second rank. The author of the story remarks that the eldest son should, in the first instance, have equally divided the inheritance between himself and his young brother.

The first play, named An Heir in Old Age, has been translated by Mr. Davis; it is one of the collection called the Hundred Plays of Yuen (A. D. 1260 to 1357). The principal wife has an only daughter, who is married. The second wife becoming *enccinte*, the son-in-law says that if she brings a daughter into the world, he will lose half of his father-in-law's fortune, and that if she is brought to bed of a son, he will lose the whole of it. Thus the son of the second rank would be the sole heir only because he is a male. Nevertheless, the father says at the same time, that whatever happens, the wife of the second rank, mother of the infant, shall continue to be dependent on the principal wife, that she shall be her property, and that the principal wife may at will either hire or sell her as a slave. This, perhaps, could only be the case during the lifetime of the father, and whilst the child had a natural protector; for in the preceding work, the eldest son had been persuading the widow to marry again, but he could not oblige her to it, nor sell her. In the play, a male child is born; the son-in-law and his wife conceal it with the mother; in the end they are found again, and the old man divides his property equally between his son of the second rank, his nephew whom he had adopted thinking his son lost, and his daughter of the first rank. This mode of division does not appear to be authorized by the Code, but legislation may have changed since the Yuen dynasty.

In the play called the Circle of Chalk, the events of which occurred during the Sung dynasty (960—1275), the principal wife has no children, and poisons her husband that she may live with her lover. The inferior wife has a son, and it is this fact only that hinders the first wife from remaining in possession of the property to which the infant is the legal heir. This is evident from the articles quoted before. The widow of the first rank enjoys the fortune of her deceased husband only so long as there is no child. A supplementary statute of the 78th section contains this regulation in direct terms. To make herself mistress of the property, the wife of the first rank sustains an action at law that the child was her own, and had been stolen from her by the second wife. She gains the cause in the first instance; but the case is tried again by an incorrupt judge, who condemns the guilty, and decrees the entire succession to the inferior wife and her child.

M. Reinand, in his work on the irruptions of the Saracens into France, in the 7th, 9th and 10th centuries, tells us that, among the Saracens, every free-man could make his son by a slave his heir, but only after having given the mother and her child their freedom. It even appears that this custom still exists in Egypt, and that the son of a white slave is often called to the succession. We see that in China, by the articles of the Code, the son of the inferior wife, and even, according to the supplementary statute of the 88th section, the son born of a slave, are qualified to succeed. There is then a marked analogy between the two systems of legislation.

In Tungking, as in China, the child that is sold is often adopted by its purchaser, and from that time he has the right of succession to his adopting father; but his share of the inheritance is less than those of the children of the family, when there are any. "Thus," says a missionary, "this custom of selling children is less odious than it appears at first sight."

There is no regulation in the present Code relating to the affranchisement of private slaves. The law does not acknowledge the right of the private slave to free himself by his labor; it does not direct that any punishment should be inflicted on the master who refuses to affranchise his slave.

According to the history of China, Hân Wútí (B. C. 160) freed his prisoners, but these prisoners had been confiscated to the government; they should have become slaves of the state. In his note on the affranchisement of government slaves which occurred in the reign of Han Yuenti, Má Twánlin clearly distinguishes as to the intervention of government with respect to individuals reduced to the condition of being government slaves, and those who had been driven by misery to become private slaves. "These," he distinctly says, "can neither be helped nor freed by the magistrates." Nevertheless, Han Wútí deprived masters of the right of killing their slaves whenever they pleased; and still later, Hân Ngátí limited the number and the age of slaves belonging to the principal dignitaries of the empire.

At that time no one under ten and above sixty years of age was allowed to be a slave. In the first century of the Christian era, Kien Wú, who restored the throne of the Hân dynasty, freed by many edicts even private slaves. An edict of the second year of his reign declared every girl sold to a private person to become his wife, to be free. A second edict of the seventh year restored to liberty all officers whom misery had reduced to become slaves. Other edicts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth years of the same reign affranchised all those individuals who had been arrested and reduced to slavery in consequence of the revolts in the eastern provinces of China. The edict of the 12th year orders that, if among the persons arrested any were found who had been sold, the purchase money was not to be returned to the purchaser; and in the three edicts it is made law that those who forcibly detained individuals affranchised by superior authority should be punished according to the law against the sale of freemen. Thus Kien Wú set the slave directly free in opposition to his master; but he published these edicts after the troubles which followed the usurpation of Wangnang, during which period numberless outrages had been committed. The public interest obliged him to free the captive population whilst the lands remained untilled. Kien Wu forbade the killing of slaves and the branding of their bodies; he declared the unfortunate beings thus stigmatized to be free by right. He abolished a law which condemned every slave who had wounded a person with an arrow, to be beheaded. Kien Wú was an excellent prince. He protected the lives of the slaves, he freed the prisoners, but he did not appoint that the slave should be able to redeem his freedom by his own labor.

In the 7th century, after the fall of the Hân dynasty, the emancipation of the slave by order of the government against the will of the master is seldom met with. Under the Tang dynasty, after the conquest of the southern provinces of China, when the internal troubles were ended, the prisoners who had become private slaves were freed by authority, *but by a note under the hands of their master*, who was the arbiter of their liberty. Visits were sometimes ordered to be made into the interior of rich houses, to ascertain if the number of slaves fixed by authority was not exceeded, or whether none were to be found

amongst them sick, infirm, or seventy years old. The last were freed by right; but this enfranchisement was rather advantageous to the masters.—Later, during the civil wars, when the prisoners reduced to slavery were found to be very numerous, and the taxable population very much diminished, these prisoner-slaves were sometimes enfranchised, and oftener redeemed by superior authority. In peaceable times, such as under the first emperors of the Sung dynasty, the government always aimed at reducing the number of slaves in the houses of the rich; but it no longer interposed in so direct a manner as Han Kienwú, neither did it give to the slaves the right of redeeming themselves by means of a sum of money gained by themselves, or furnished by their friends. The Mongol emperors only ordered a few casual enfranchisements, in favor of the literati made prisoners during the invasion.

To return, from the silence of the Code, and saving some excepted historical cases, the enfranchisement of the slave entirely depends on the will of the master, as was the case in all French colonies; and the same regulations obtained in all the nations of our European antiquity that have had slaves. In the Chinese scale of virtues and vices (see Morrison's Dict. under the character

奴 Vol. 1.), to scold slaves severely is rated at *one* fault; to see them ill, and not to be careful of them, but require severe labor as usual—is rated at *ten* faults. To disallow slaves marrying is rated at *one hundred* faults; to refuse assent to men and women slaves being ransomed, is rated at *fifty* faults. These faults are of the number of those the spirits register in the book of heaven, and which they value to decide the fate of every mortal after his death; but they are beyond terrestrial legislation. In Du Halde's Description of China, a work composed on the information transmitted by the missionaries, it is said, Vol. II, page 74, that many Chinese allow their slaves to embark in trade in which they have an interest; and thus the slaves often obtain the means of ransoming themselves. This is very probable, for a Chinese is naturally humane; and this mode of ransom also prevailed with the Romans, usually so severe toward their slaves. But in China, as formerly at Rome, this kind of arrangement is not regulated by any law to which the slave can appeal against the avarice of his master.

The Manchu penal code did not renew the regulation of the Táng dynasty, which freed by right the slaves of government, and even domestic slaves aged seventy years. But this regulation was altogether illusory for that description of slaves.

In China, the enfranchised slave passes immediately into the condition of a free citizen. It was only under the Táng dynasty that rebels, when made prisoners and slaves of the state did not receive their full pardon except through three successive steps, which they were to gain by their labor. But history constantly informs us that the domestic slave passed directly from the state of villanage to that of freedom, without the intermediate degrees which existed in our ancient European republics. In these republics it was the son only of the freedman who became a citizen.

This difference, as Montesquieu remarks, necessarily adheres to the form of the two kinds of government. In republics, as the free citizens were able to modify the laws by their deliberations, it was important that the decisions should not be suddenly influenced by the introduction of strangers uninterested in public affairs; it was therefore necessary that the freedman should not instantly enjoy the rights of a free citizen. In despotic governments the chief only makes the law, or acts from laws which have been long fixed and immutable. The people must passively obey; it is not then necessary to distinguish the freedman from the citizen, and such is the state of affairs in China. Only, as all the social relations are based on the respect of the son toward his father, generally the freedman offending against his old master who had delivered him from bondage, is punished by the law as if he was still his slave. With all others he conducts himself as a freeman amongst freemen, and is punished conformably with this position.

Besides slaves, there are in private houses work-people called 傭工

ying-kung, paid servants who hire themselves to work for a certain time, and who can change their masters. We have seen that under the first Chan dynasty these hired domestics performed all the services in rich families. Now, as then, the persons who hire themselves are individuals free by birth, but subjected by their engagement to certain duties to their masters. The engagement should be made in clear and precise terms (*Ordinances of the Sung dynasty*, Appendix, page 9); the duration of the engagement appears variable. The ordinance of Sung, which I have just referred to, the text of which I will give further on, limits the duration at the longest to five years; a former ordinance of the T'ang dynasty appears to fix the duration at one year only. The wages are settled by the year or month. In an example quoted by Morrison under the character 傭 a person "went and hired himself to labor, and settled for four taels (30 francs) a year."—Timkowski, in his journey to Peking in 1820, points out the monthly wages of domestic servants in Peking, which vary from three taels of silver (22 francs, 50 centimes) to one tael (7 fr. 50c.), exclusive of food in the latter case. According to the Code, the man who has hired himself out to service is in an inferior position in relation to his master and to free citizens in general. He finds himself so often in contact with the slave, that one is reluctant to think that he can have the same facility of changing his master as the European domestic. Nevertheless, one does not find in the Chinese Code that the master can claim his hired servant who has left him, and if the wages are monthly, as Timkowski says they are at Peking, it is probable that the Chinese domestic can free himself as easily as our own. It is likely that the time of discharge is regulated by custom in China, as it really is with us.

As to the eunuchs, formerly their number was very considerable. The emperors of the Hán dynasty, and at a later period those of the T'ang and Sung dynasties confided most of the civil offices of state to the eunuchs. There is no doubt, as Montesquieu remarked, but that a political principle governed this choice. The emperors were willing thus to destroy by a want of power the inheritance of dignities, the living remains of the feudal constitution of the Chan dynasty, from which the power of the great feudatories was unceasingly revived; but they fell into other disadvantages, and the eunuch party has often excited the greatest troubles in the Chinese empire, as religious societies have unfortunately also done the same thing in other countries. Since the first of the Manchu emperors, the number of the eunuchs has been considerably reduced. According to the imperial Code, Sect. cccclxxxix, at present there cannot be any eunuchs in a private house: this right is reserved for the princes of the imperial family. From the most recent accounts of the French missionaries the number of eunuchs now in China cannot exceed six thousand. By the Code, castration is inflicted on the children of rebels under sixteen years of age. In the appendix to the section on high treason, sect. ccciv, it is said, "All the male relations of criminals guilty of high treason, at or above the age of sixteen years, shall be punished with death; the remaining male children, if it is proved that they are entirely innocent, shall not suffer death, but they shall be *made eunuchs*, that they may be employed in the exterior buildings of the palace. Amongst the said children, those who are not ten years old shall be kept in prison until they have attained that age, and then be sent to the emperor's palace to serve there as above stated." In no other case does the code inflict this punishment; but misery would supply wretches enough to fill the imperial palaces.

At the times of great internal troubles, Chinese history shows us the poor cultivators of the soil clustering round powerful or rich individuals, and placing themselves and lands under their protection. In the appendix to *Má Twánlin* they are called *chen-hú* 擅戶, *usurped families*. This occurred principally during the wars following the fall of the Han, and under the Tsin dynasty (280—404). Under the Eastern Tsin (375), the protected husband men appear as very serfs; the law freed them from taxes and personal service, and limited their number proportionally to the rank of their lord who was

obliged to inscribe them on his domestic register, and was assessed in proportion to this increase of his family. The historian particularly notices this regulation, for this reason that previously under the Hân dynasty government officers enjoyed an immunity from taxation, and were maintained by the districts which they governed. The law of the Tsin dynasty on the contrary granted to every great officer a fixed number of husbandmen appointed for the maintenance of himself and his family.

Later, under the second Wei dynasty which occupied the Northern empire, the labor, even on small properties, was done by slaves. An ordinance published in the year 420, declared that every married couple, being lords of the manor, should have male slaves to labor on the grounds, and female slaves to take care of the household concerns, in all eight persons. A bachelor proprietor was to have only half this number, or four slaves. Ten head of laboring oxen were allowed to eight slaves. The second Wei dynasty adopted Tartar habits, if they were not Tartars themselves. All labor was done by slaves, while the master refused to do any work. The law distinguished between lands cultivated by oxen, and those cultivated without them. Upon certain lands hired out by the government, the farmer, a freeman, was obliged to make up his deficiency in oxen by a certain number of slaves.

This institution which was bondage on a large scale, was afterwards opposed by the Tang and the emperors of the following dynasties. Instructed by experience, they dreaded extremely this union of properties and of protected husbandmen in the hands of certain families, who thus rendered themselves independent, and withstood the authorized agents intrusted with the new verification of goods (*recensement*), and often caused great troubles. At the present day, the bondage of the planter fixed to the soil appears only to exist in a single case,—on those lands belonging to Manchu Tartar families. The male members of these families, being born soldiers, are thus prevented from cultivating their lands themselves; they have therefore farmers under them whom they hold in effectual bondage, according to the Tartar custom. But the Tartar families do not show more than one hundred thousand men bearing arms, which is an insignificant cypher in comparison with the immense population of China. In general, the Chinese landholder lets his lands to another Chinese, free like himself, taking care to require of the former a pledge equivalent at the least to a year's rent. Without this precaution, harvest being over, the farmer would sell the grain and run away.

Chinese society is then generally composed of three classes of individuals: the free citizen, the servant or hired workman, and the slave. The penal code protects the two last classes against their masters and freemen in general; but it fixes precisely the limit of separation between them and freemen. The punishment of crimes is different according to the condition of the slave, the hired servant, and the freeman; and in general all alliances between them, all tendency to mix the ranks of the social order, is severely punished. This is clearly seen in the following quotations from the Code.

On marriage. Section CIII. *Respecting those who having a principal wife raise another to that rank.*

“Whoever degrades his first or principal wife to the condition of an inferior wife or concubine, shall be punished with 100 blows. Whoever, during the lifetime of his first wife, raises an inferior wife to the rank and condition of a first wife shall be punished with 90 blows, and in both the cases, each of the several wives shall be replaced in the rank to which she was originally entitled on her marriage. Whoever, having a first wife living, enters into marriage with another female as a first wife, shall likewise be punished with 90 blows; and the marriage being considered null and void, the parties shall be separated, and the woman returned to her parents.”

In the novel of “*The Two Cousins*,” the student Sú Yánph marries both with the same ceremony, which is contrary to the first article on marriage. The author has allowed himself some license; nevertheless, the youngest cousin Lí has first acknowledged that she will only be the second wife, that she has degraded herself, but she had done so that she might marry a man remarkable for his learning. The articles of the Code carefully distinguish the principal and the second wife.

Under the same division, Section cxv. *Marriage between free persons and slave*.—"If any master of a family solicits and obtains in marriage for his slave, the daughter of a freeman, he shall be punished with 80 blows; the member of the family who gives away the female in marriage shall suffer the same punishment, if aware that the intended husband is a slave, but not otherwise. A slave soliciting and obtaining a daughter of a freeman in marriage, shall also be punished in the same manner; and if the master of the slave consents thereto, he shall suffer punishment less by two degrees; but, if he moreover receives such free woman into his family as a slave, he shall be punished with one hundred blows. Likewise, whoever falsely represents a slave to be free, and thereby procures such slave a free husband or wife, shall suffer 90 blows. In all these cases, the marriage shall be null and void, and the parties replaced in the ranks they had respectively held in the community."

In the division on incest and adultery, Sect. ccclxx.—"All slaves or hired servants who have been guilty of a criminal intercourse with their master's wives or daughters shall be beheaded immediately after conviction. When guilty of a criminal intercourse with their master's female relations in the first degree, or with the wives of the male relations of their masters in the same degree, they shall be strangled after remaining in prison the usual period. In the above cases, the punishment of the woman, if consenting, shall be less, only by one degree. When guilty of a criminal intercourse with their master's more distant female relations, or with the wives of his more distant male relations, they shall be punished with 100 blows, and perpetual banishment to the distance of 2000 *li*. If guilty of committing a rape upon the latter persons, they shall be beheaded after remaining in prison the usual period; except in cases of rape, the punishment of a criminal intercourse with any of the inferior wives shall, generally speaking, be less than in the case of principal wives by one degree."

Under the same division, Sect. ccclxxiii. On criminal intercourse between free persons and slaves.—"A slave, who is in any case guilty of a criminal intercourse with the wife or daughter of a freeman, shall be punished, at the least, one degree more severely than a freeman would have been under the same circumstances. On the contrary the punishment of a freeman for having criminal intercourse with a female slave, shall be one degree less for the two guilty persons, because the freeman has disgraced himself. When both parties are slaves, the criminal intercourse shall be punished in the same manner as in the case of free persons. They each receive a certain number of blows."

The preceding regulations are applicable in case of adultery with the wife of a slave. This is confirmed by a note which indicates that the case of the abduction of a wife of a slave is assimilated to that of a master beating his slave to death. In the last case the master receives 60 blows, and is banished for a year, whilst a freeman who abducts the wife of a freeman, is condemned to 100 blows and perpetual exile.

In the division on homicide, Sect. cclxxxiv.—"Any slave or hired servant designing to murder, or murdering his or her master, or any relation of his or her master, living under the same roof, shall be liable to the same punishment as has been provided in the case of a son or grandson being guilty of such a criminal act or design."

Section ccc.—"If, in the event of the murder of a grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, husband, or master of a family, the grandson, son, wife, slave or hired servant, as the case may be, agrees to a compromise with the murderer, and conceals the crime, the party so offending shall be punished with 100 blows, and banished for three years. Any person who is guilty of compromising and concealing the murder of his son, grandson, wife, slave, or hired servant, shall be liable to receive 100 blows."

The first of these regulations is a direct consequence of the position of the slave or hired servants with their master; they form part of the family and are punished as such. The two others establish the responsibility (*solidarité*) between all the members of the family, in the case of murder of any one of them, and the law punishes the master himself when he does not reveal the

murder of his slave. This is far different from that barbarous law of the Romans which condemned to death all the slaves, when the master having been murdered by an individual of his household, the murderer remained undiscovered.

Section 286. "Any slave or hired servant who kills his or her master, shall suffer the ordinary punishment in cases of murder; but if the slave has been freed by his master and not sold by him to another, then he is punished as guilty of parricide. The punishment of the assassin is decollation; the punishment of the parricide is that of the knives, or the delict is cut in pieces by a slow and painful execution."

In the division of quarreling and fighting, section 313.—Every freeman who beats the slave of another, is punished in proportion to the consequences of his action, but in a less degree than in the same case between equals. If the blows occasion death, the freeman who has caused the death is punished by strangulation.

The slave who strikes a freeman is punished one degree more than in the same case between equals. If the person struck becomes incurable, the guilty person is punished with strangulation; if he dies, the guilty person is beheaded. In the quarrels of slaves between themselves, the punishments are the same as for quarrels between equals.

The thefts committed by slaves to the prejudice of free persons, and reciprocally, are punished as in an ordinary case of theft. To beat a slave of one's relations of the third or fourth degree is a fault which the law does not punish; it intervenes not except in case the slave dies. To beat the hired servant of a relative in the third or fourth degree, is not a punishable crime, if there is not a wound made with a cutting instrument.

"If the hired servant dies in consequence of blows, the punishment inflicted is less than in ordinary cases. If the hired servant belongs to a relation in the second degree, he who struck him suffers a punishment two degrees less than in ordinary cases. To kill the servant on the spot by striking him, is punished, in the two preceding cases, by strangulation. The crime of striking the servant of a stranger is included amongst the ordinary cases where the punishment is proportioned to the consequences of the action."

Section cccxiv.—*On slaves and hired servants striking their masters*, or the relations of their masters, and reciprocally. "Every slave who purposely strikes his master shall be beheaded, without distinction in this crime of principals or accomplices. All slaves designedly killing, or striking with a design to kill, their masters, shall suffer death by a slow and painful execution. All slaves who accidentally kill their masters shall be strangled after having been imprisoned the usual time. Every slave who shall accidentally wound his master shall suffer one hundred blows, and perpetual banishment to the distance of three thousand *li*, and they cannot redeem themselves from punishment by the payment of a fine, as the law allows in ordinary cases. Every hired servant who strikes his master, the relation of his master in the first degree, or the maternal grandfather or grandmother of his master, shall be punished with 100 blows and three years' banishment; if he wounds the said persons, he shall be punished 100 blows, and perpetual banishment to the distance of three thousand *li* from his master's house. If the wound is made with a cutting instrument, he shall be strangled. If the wound causes death, he shall be beheaded after having been imprisoned during the usual time. If the hired servant has intentionally killed the same persons, he shall suffer death by a slow and painful execution. If the wound has been caused by accident, and death ensues, the punishment shall be reduced to an ordinary case, which is regulated according to the consequences of the blows.

Same Section.—*Slaves or servants beaten by their masters.* In case of theft or adultery committed by a slave, if the master or one of his near relations secretly beats the slave to death, instead of informing the magistrate, this master or this relation shall be sentenced to receive 100 blows. If the master of a slave or the relation of a master in the first degree, intentionally kills his slave, or beats him to death, the slave not being guilty of any crime, the delinquent shall be punished with sixty blows and one year's banishment. The

family of the slave killed has a right to be enfranchised. The regulation published under the Sung dynasty in the 11th century, is here recognised. The enfranchisement of the family of the slave killed is a remarkable fact; the master finds himself punished in his own proper pecuniary interest. If the slave be guilty he can be punished by the persons undermentioned (in the Code), provided the chastisement does not cause death. A master can beat his hired servant without being punished, but if he kills him he is punished by strangulation.

Section cccxxii.—*Of a master who strikes his late slave, and reciprocally.* Both the one and the other shall be punished as equals, the tie between them having been broken by the sale of the slave; but if the master has freed his slave, his late right is considered as not having been transferred to any other, and thus the sentence is pronounced as if the slave had not been set free.

Section cccxxvii.—*Abusive language from a slave or hired servant to a master or his relations.* If the words are addressed to his master, the slave is punished with strangulation after the usual term of imprisonment. If they are addressed to the relations of his master in the first degree, the slave receives fifty blows, and is sentenced to two years' banishment. He is punished with eighty, seventy, or sixty blows for injurious language addressed to more distant relations. In all cases, abusive language must have been heard by the person insulted, and such person must always complain of it publicly.

Section cccxxvi.—The slave who insults his late master is punished in ordinary cases, the tie having been broken between his master and him; but if he has been freed by his master, he shall be punished as though he were still his slave.

Section cccxxvii. *Slaves and hired servants accusing their masters.* The slaves shall be sentenced the same as the sons or grandsons who accuse, whether justly or unjustly, their elder relations. If the accusation is just, the slave is punished with 100 blows and three years' exile. If the accusation is false, the slave is strangled. The principal or inferior wife who accuses her husband, whether justly or unjustly, suffers the same punishment.

As to the hired servant who accuses his master, or the relations of his master, if the accusation is just, he is punished one degree less than the slave; if it is false, he is like him strangled.

The master who falsely accuses his slave, his hired servant, or his inferior wife, does not suffer any punishment. All these individuals are considered as forming part of the family, and the respect which they owe to the chief should not be diminished by a judgment which shall give them a motive against him. The husband who falsely accuses his principal wife, the principal wife who falsely accuses any of the inferior wives of her husband, are punished; but in these cases the ordinary punishment is reduced three degrees.

The slave and the hired servant cannot complain in a court of justice of ill-treatment from their masters, and we have seen above that ill-treatment is considered as a venial fault. If the domestic is dangerously wounded, it is the magistrate's duty to interfere, or the relations of the domestic may also prefer the accusation. The accusation of a slave against a freeman does not appear to be receivable in a court of justice: no punishment is decreed against an enfranchised slave who justly accuses his master. The tie between them appears to be entirely broken; the freedman has re-entered society; he has his own proper rights to defend, and he and his late master are equal before the laws.

From all these quotations from the Code, it is seen that the free citizen, the hired servant, and the slave, occupy three distinct stations in Chinese society. The slave forms an integral part of the family of his master, and incurs towards him the obligation of strict duties. Enfranchisement puts him on a footing of equality with all free citizens; but if he attacks the person of his late master who has enfranchised him, he is punished as though he were still his slave.—The hired servant shares in a less degree in the general obligations towards the master of the family. He has hired himself to the family, he belongs to it, and during the term of his engagement the law does not judge him as a freeman. Every kind of alliance between the classes of freemen and slaves is

rigorously forbidden. This separation which the law has established between the freeman, the hired servant, and the slave, may appear singular in a country where all places are conferred on the people, where there are no privileges of nobility, except those of princes of the blood. But it is a fact, adopted and defended even by the Chinese moralists who have composed, since the origin of slavery, so many half superstitious and half philosophical writings. This serious question is passed by in silence in the book of Rewards and Punishments, the moral code of the sectaries of Táu; and only some compilers, such as Má Twánlin, have traced the fact that there were no private slaves under the Chau dynasty.

As we have seen, the code of this dynasty separated into two classes, the citizen who paid taxes, and the individual who sold his labor. The latter, not being able to pay taxes, was properly considered as being of an inferior rank, but it is not said that at that time the punishments of the law were different for those who paid taxes and for the hired servant. Later, in the middle of national troubles, there were not more masters than slaves, and the distinction is very much encroached upon under the first Hán dynasties, when the slave was scarcely included within the pale of the law. Then came the Indian ideas on the division of castes, and they were already widely diffused in China under the Táng dynasties, which instituted military castes. The first ordinance which forbade the military to marry an operative (*ouvriere*) dates from the fifth year of Kublai Khan (1264), and many Indian dogmas were brought into China by the Mongols, or by the priests belonging to their suite. The present Chinese legislation appears to me to have resulted from a mixture of the ancient rights of the conqueror over the vanquished with notions from the political constitution of India. The legal distinctions of freeman, hired servant, and slave, may have been imitated from the Hindus, although Buddhism, which is generally adopted in China, does not recognise the division of castes.

That which is positively known respecting Chinese slaves is that their actual lot is not generally unhappy. This is shown by their novels, in which the domestic is the confidant of his master, or in which harsh behavior toward slaves is only attributed to vicious persons, and is not a matter of course as in Greek and Roman comedies. Staunton, Barrow, and other European travelers, attest this. In the Annals of the *Propaganda fide*, No. XL, a missionary who had remained ten years in China tells us that the working and laboring classes are not despised by the higher orders, that the rich and even persons of quality, ordinarily eat with their servants and work-people. If one ascends to former times, it does not appear that the slave was usually ill-treated, except in times of great distress, and particularly so after the invasions of the Wei and latter Chau dynasty, in the 6th century of our era, and of the Kin and Mongol dynasties in the 12th and 13th centuries. These Tartar conquerors allowed their slaves to remain in the greatest destitution, and often branded their bodies; but their inhumanity should not be laid to the account of the natives, and under the mighty dynasties of Han, Tang, and above all of Sung, one observes the Chinese government employing itself respecting the condition of slaves much more than the governments of Greece and Rome, although pagans. Finally the history of China mentions no revolt of the slaves, in this instance widely different from the history of Greece and Rome, and of some French colonies.

At the present day the Chinese slave is protected in certain points by his country's code, he becomes a real member of the family which has bought him, and with the prescriptions of this Code, joined with the disposition of the Chinese naturally humane, slavery appears an easy enough state in China. It is a kind of social position which various travelers totally distinguish in their relations from the degraded condition of the slave in the European colonies, and above all in the U. S. of America. The Anglo-American, resembling so much the Chinese in his immoderate desire of lucre, is inferior to him in humanity by the cruelty of his black code, and the barbarous treatment which he often inflicts on his slave. But in this comparison there is a consideration which should not be neglected.

In America, the master is white and the slave is black: they are of two different races. In China, both the one and other are of the same color and of

the same race. In the first case, the white has a manifest intellectual superiority. It is impossible for him to think that he will ever descend to the same state of slavery as that race which is brought to him from beyond the seas; he therefore treats the black like the cattle on his farm. But in China, where the race is one and the same, misery, that principal cause of slavery, is a chance common both to master and slave. The master must often think that himself or his children, by a chastisement of the emperor, by a reverse of fortune, or a natural calamity, may be altered in his position, that he may fall into poverty and slavery, and examples are frequent enough to refresh his memory. In his slave then he sees himself, and therefore treats him humanely. Suppose negroes were slaves in China, and leave them to their prejudices, and the superstitions with which they are imbued from their infancy against the Western nations, and there is nothing to prove that they would not treat the blacks with as much cruelty as do the Americans. It is thus in Egypt, according to the recent work of the English traveler, Lane, the white slave often becoming the principal wife and seeing her children inherit, whilst the black wife and her children always remain in slavery.

The preceding paper presents a labored summary of the history of servitude in China, and the legal enactments in favor of those persons unhappily reduced to a condition of bondage. These persons should hardly be called *slaves*, but rather *bond-servants*; for, as M. de Guignes remarks, "we should not understand by the expression *slavery* what is understood by it in French colonies, for the difference is very great. During my journey to Peking, one of the domestics having purchased a boy, sent a sum of money to the father, and executed a writing in which he engaged to nourish and clothe the lad; when this was done, he called him his brother, and treated him as if he had been one." M. Biot has fully shown the condition of purchased servants among the Chinese, and the deductions he has drawn in the last three paragraphs from his investigations are borne out by actual examination. There are many revolting accompaniments of slavery in the American States, which are never seen in China; such as the public vendue of human beings, and even of whole families, when parents and children are violently separated from each other, never again to meet, and the internal traffic in men, women, and children from one part of the empire to another. In China, the identity of blood, color, race, and habits between master and servant, operates as a restraint on the avarice, vices, and cruelty of the former, which would not be the case if they were of different races as in America. The crime of stealing girls and rearing them for sale as concubines or harlots, is common in some parts of China, but no reliable data are available from which to draw any conclusions as to its extent. The banishment of criminals to various parts of extra-provincial China, where they serve a number of years as slaves under the military, and are then liberated, is gradually peopling those countries with a better class of inhabitants.

We have made many inquiries as to the number of slaves in Canton, the classes in society from which they mostly come, and the prices usually paid for them, but have not been able to learn much worthy of credence. According to all our informants, the number of females greatly exceeds that of males; the former are generally purchased between the ages of five and fifteen. More men-slaves are found in the establishments of opulent landlords and government offices than among traders and citizens. The following is the form of a contract drawn up on the purchase of a slave.

Contract made on buying [Aying]. This [girl] is my own child; her name is [Aying], and she is aged [ten] years; on account of poverty and want of means of livelihood, I now bring her to the house of [Lien], that he may take her person for the sum of [ten taels]; on this day of making the contract, he pays me the full sum. This [girl] is to be under the orders of him who pays the money, who will nourish and rear her to maturity; if he marries her to another, or sells her again, I shall make no objection. Morning and evening she shall diligently attend to her avocations, nor shall she abscond; if she does, I will seek her out and bring her back; if she meets any mishap from the elements, it is the ordinance of heaven, and the master is not responsible. This child is my own progeny, and was not bought by me from another; if hereafter anything transpires not now clearly stated, I, the seller, shall not be made liable. We now make this contract as clear evidence of the sale.

The expression in relation to absconding is generally understood to refer to the child running back to her home, though it may also be of wider application.

ART. IV. *The Worship of Ancestors among the Chinese: a Notice of the Kiá-Lí Tieh-shih Tsih-ching 家禮帖式集成 or Collection of Forms and Cards used in Family Ceremonies.*

WHEN man first lost the knowledge of the true God, and unhappily set up gods for himself among the works of the Creator, two classes of objects of worship seem to have presented themselves with nearly equal claims to regard, viz., those which he feared, and those which he loved. From these, the downward transition of deifying his own lusts and emotions, and making his gods the impersonations of his appetites and his hopes, clothing them with more or less of imaginary history, and observing their worship with more or less decency, was neither difficult nor distant. In the first class might be mentioned the winds,

the lightning, the ocean, the heavenly bodies, the earthquake, &c.; in the second may be classed upright magistrates, parents, teachers, and chieftains; and from one or other of these two classes, doubtless most of the false deities of the heathen originated. Among the Chinese, they have been worshiped from the earliest record of the nation, and religious homage is paid to them at the present day by all ranks, some of them, as heaven and earth, being exclusively appropriated to imperial majesty, and others, as the gods which preside over harvests, over the seasons, &c., being sacrificed to by the people. In comparing it with other false systems of religion, it is an observable feature of Chinese idolatry, that nothing indicative of a sense of sin and the necessity of an atonement, appears in offerings by blood, nor any vicarious or mediatorial rites; if the gods are pleased with the offerings presented before them, and will confer their blessings upon the worshipers, well: the account between the two parties is settled, the devotee has paid for what he has received. But no idea of unforgiven sin; no sense of obligation to obey a holy law; no dread of its just penalties, or wish to escape them; no notion of the need of a daysman to stand between the majesty on high and the guilty worshiper on earth, and make the two at one; or necessity of pouring out the blood of victims to pacify the just anger of offended deities towards guilty suppliants, ever seem to have entered the religious ritual of the Chinese. The prevailing spirit of their theology is exhibited in their code of politeness; religion chiefly consists in a rigid observance of forms, in making so many prostrations, so many kneelings, so many prayers, and the whole is done. The Chinese have no relish for the austerities, the penances, mortifications, and alms practiced by the Hindus, and such things are seldom seen or done among them.

In the second class of objects of worship—those which the devotee loved—we find that parents and kindred have held a place among all pagan nations; the North American Indian, the witty Greek and warlike Roman, the ceremonious Chinese and priest-ridden Egyptian, have all agreed in rendering religious homage to their departed relatives, and doing what they could to pacify, to gratify, and to honor their manes, in the world of spirits. In doing this, practice has shown that their general belief was that each family had a peculiar interest in its own members, and the living of each household were watched over by the dead who once dwelt among them with greater care and fidelity than they were by any other mortal spirits; but the power of these lares to relieve and protect their friends varied almost infinitely. Among the Chinese, it is thought to be great and almost irresponsible, while the

savages of America merely made known to their departed sires their good or ill luck in this world, without much expectation of assistance. Among no pagan nation, has the worship of ancestors assumed the importance it has among this people ; and it may be said that at the present day, the *real* religion of China is not the worship of heaven and earth, nor of idols, but of Confucius and one's own ancestors. The formal worship of heaven and earth and the powers of nature is mostly confined to the emperor and high officers of state at distant intervals : and the worship of idols is a worship of theatrical performances, of burning fire-crackers and gilt paper, in which there is no heart ; the only principal exception to this we now think of is the worship of Mammon. The political system of China involves the worship of the Most Holy Sage, and the social system derived from his writings, requires homage to be paid to the family lares ; but the worship of ancestors was general in China long before the days of Confucius, and he exhibited his sagacity in adapting his teachings to the filial feelings of our nature, and endeavoring to show his countrymen the advantages of adopting a peaceful, bloodless ritual, instead of the cruel, barbarous rites of their northern neighbors. Under the mouldings of his doctrines, overruled, we would remark, by the all-wise Governor of the nations, we now see the whole Chinese people ardently attached to a form of idolatry, which may be termed literary-ancestral pantheism ; and whether regard be had to its general peaceful and moral nature, to the absence of all sense of accountability and sin on the part of the worshipers, its comparative purity from all obscene rites, to the relation its tenets bear to the fifth Commandment of the Decalogue, or to its subtlety as a form of error eminently calculated to foster the pride of the human heart, and close it against the doctrines and requirements of the Gospel, we know of no superstition now prevalent in the world that is likely to present a more decided opposition to the humbling doctrines of the Bible.

Confucius and his followers taught that the chief end of man is to serve his parents ; and Ch'ú Hí, in the *Síáu Híoh*, or Juvenile Instructor, has in a very elaborate manner arranged the details of the mode of serving them and other superiors. It matters not how poor, ignorant, or wicked the parents may be, the son, no matter how rich, wise, or good, must look on his own father as on heaven, and his mother as on earth, giving them equal reverence. If he has a wife and children, he must still attend to his parents in preference to his own family ; if his house be on fire, he must seek his father's safety before he thinks of wife and child ; and even should he be the

emperor of the land, and his father in distress—nay, if his father have committed a crime for which he deserves to die—he must throw away all his power “as he would a pair of old shoes,” and become a peasant or an exile, if he can thereby gratify or profit his parents, or preserve his father’s life. These and many other directions are contained in the Four Books, or are deducible from their instructions, and show to what an extreme the idea of filial duty is carried.

The work quoted in the title of this article, contains rules for the guidance of persons in every station of life; half of it is filled with directions how to conduct towards one’s relatives after death. From this and other sources, especially various numbers of the *Missionary Chronicle* published in New York, we have compiled a few notices of the ceremonies attending ancestral worship among the Chinese.

It is the usage among all ranks to have a place—a *lararium*—in the house dedicated to the honor and the worship of its former members. Among the rich and honorable, whose mansions are spacious, a room is set apart for this purpose, in which are the portraits or tablets of their ancestors, from the head of the family down, or in some cases only the first progenitor as representing all the succeeding generations; the titles of honor or office held by members of the family are also placed here painted on large boards. Here the family collect on all public or private festivals, and whenever some extraordinary, joyful, or melancholy event has taken place in the family, announce it to the ancestral groups, making them partakers in the joy or grief of whatever has happened. Sometimes these *kiá miáu* 家廟 or family temples, are detached from the dwelling, and open to the street, for the accommodation of other branches of the family, and to exhibit its wealth.

When a man is at the point of death, it is deemed honorable to have his bed taken into the rear hall, and placed in the middle of the room, his head lying eastward; when others beside the master of the house are sick, they may be carried into a side apartment. After this, if the sick man wishes to make a will, it can be taken down. As soon as the breath has departed, the body is laid out upon a mat on the floor, and covered with a shroud; a little cotton wool is sometimes put in the mouth or nose, to see if the breath moves it. The eldest son now puts two cash in a bowl, which he covers with a cloth, and goes to the river-side or to the nearest water, and after burning candles and crackers, throws them into the water, and dips up the bowl full, with which he washes the corpse; this custom, called ‘buying water,’ is common in Canton. Immediately after death, the whole

household joins in wailing, both men and women casting off their ornaments, disheveling their hair, and baring their feet, in token of grief. The eldest son or grandson then offers the food, and pours out the libations at the feet of his parent; if a wife, or child, or concubine dies, the master himself manages the ceremonies; and the nearest relatives according as they may be present, except married daughters or sons adopted by others. Rich Chinese often prepare their coffins beforehand, but new ones are kept for sale in large quantities; the body does not lie over the third day before confining it. The coffin is sometimes coated with a mixture of lime, wax, and rice-flour seethed together; but a cheaper composition of lime and oil is generally laid two or three inches thick around the inside; and when the body is put in little packages of lime are placed around it to prevent it moving.

The customs about visiting the bereaved family vary; friends come in mourning apparel, and enter the chamber of the dead, where they are received by the eldest son, and join their lamentations with his; he himself remains near the dead. When the day for placing the body in the coffin arrives, the relatives assemble; it is dressed in its best robes, according to the rank the departed bore in his lifetime; a piece of money or a pearl is put in the mouth, a willow twig placed in the right hand, to sweep away demons from his path; a fan and handkerchief in the left hand; the bracelets, bangles, earrings, &c., of females, are also all put on. This is done under the impression that the spirit appears before the judge of hades in these habiliments. The seams of the coffin are then so carefully sealed that no effluvia escapes. At the time of closing the coffin, the chief mourner or his substitute says the following prayer, a copy of which is afterwards burned for the information of the deceased.

Prayer offered when confining a corpse.

On this —— day, I (of such a name) an orphan, presume to announce clearly to my late parent, that I, bitterly weeping for the prince of the house, say, Sorrows have multiplied upon myself, and misery upon my father; a sickness suddenly overcame him, and from the nine fountains he will never return. In now putting him into the coffin, he receives my just punishment. O my father, my heaven! How can you endure this. Ah, alas! my grief is great.

After the coffin is closed, a curtain is sometimes hung over it in the middle, so as to screen off the females of the family, and those who visit to condole with them, from the male mourners. The next thing is to put up the *ling wei* 靈位 or ancestral tablet, which is a slip of blue paper containing the name, surname and titles of the defunct. When this is done, the following is recited and burned.

Announcement when the tablet is put up.

I now beg to announce to my father before his tablet and coffin. Alas! my parent suddenly shuffled off this world. I have selected a lucky day, and reverently set up his tablet in the rear apartment. My tears flow as I pour out the libations, and make this announcement.

At the same time, if the deceased had attained the age of sixty, a banner of cloth or silk is suspended near the coffin, on which are inscribed the virtuous actions performed during his or her life; the honors he had attained, and whatever else the eulogist deems worthy of noting.

While the corpse remains in the house, the rich call in the assistance of priests, and sometimes expend large sums of money in hiring them to say prayers, in erecting altars in the house, paying musicians, and burning paper models of various kinds in honor and for the use of the dead. On this popular custom, the compiler of the Family Ritual tauntingly remarks, "Those who believe in the vagaries of Buddhism call in the priests of Budha every seventh day to set up their altars and do honor to Fuh, in order to diminish the sins and increase the happiness of the dead, that thereby he may ascend to heaven. Filial children elevating the tablet, kneel down in company with the priests, and unite their petitions in calling him to enter into life. How shameful is this! These people think if they do not act thus, their friends will certainly go to hell and suffer interminable misery; not knowing that the soul 魂 goes to heaven, the anima 魄 dissipates in the earth, the form 形 corrupts in the grave, and the spirit 神 wanders unsettled. If the deceased was a bad man, these priests can not remove his punishment, and what they say about the Palace of heaven and the Prison of earth, is only done for the purpose of exhorting men to forsake evil; if the ceremonies are not according to propriety, how can you expect the demons 鬼 and gods 神 to hear your private talk? Therefore, Li Tán, prefect of Lúchau wrote his sister, saying, 'If there be no heaven, we can not help it, and if there be no hell, we can not alter it; yet if there be the one, good men 君子 will go there, and bad men 小人 to the other. When people lose their parents, they implore the Buddhists to pray for them, which is acting as if their parents were miserably wicked, and had not lived well; how can they bring such an imputation towards them by acting so; or supposing they were guilty of crimes, how can these priests remove the punishment? If there really be a heaven and a hell, they were in existence when the heavens and the earth were produced; now, as men died before ever these Buddhists came into China, did no one unluckily fall

into hell before that time, and see the ten judges of Tartarus? It is of no use to speak of these things to the unlearned, for even the learned understand them but little."

Notwithstanding these objections of this moralizing Confucianist, most classes engage the services of the priests, and think that their friends are the easier for them, or are quite released from suffering. When engaging them, the family also announces the death by pasting a notice on the outer door, and writing letters to the relatives, the nephews or younger brothers doing it for the chief mourner, who is too much swallowed up with grief to attend to it; formulæ are given in the Ritual for these notes and their answers. The proper mourning is also to be prepared by the different members of the family, according to their consanguinity. There are five periods of mourning, each of a different length; one is called *chân sui* (i. e. cutting off the selvage) of three years' duration, but diminished to 27 months; one called *kí* (i. e. a limit) of one year; the third called *tá kung* (i. e. great merit) of nine months; the fourth called *siáu kung* (i. e. little merit) of five months; and the last called *sz' má*, or silky hemp (from the kind of mourning worn), of three months. The relatives required to observe these degrees, and the mourning they are obliged to wear, are particularized in the statutes of the empire. Among the various degrees of relationship, eight are required to observe the longest period of twenty-seven months; these are children, wives, and grandchildren, for their parents, husbands, and grandparents. Further than this, it will be unnecessary here to particularize the grades of mourning apparel worn by different relatives, or the degrees of relationship which are required to wear each kind. The obligations due to the dead by the eldest son and by the widow, are paramount to those of all other kindred. If any of the sons be in office, both law and usage require them to resign their posts, and go into retirement during the prescribed period. The following prayers, among others, are said during the period of mourning; but we can hardly imagine anything more heartless.

Prayer when one parent dies before mourning for the other is done.

Alas, my father dwells in the gloomy confines of the Nine Fountains! I am about to change for a deeper mourning, but I can never requite the anxious care he had for me. Two years have rolled away, and I now announce that the [paper] tablet and sacrifice before it are removed; I announce that the tablet will bless the ancestral hall with its presence, and I have laid out a trifling sacrifice which I beg to inform him of, and intreat the honored spirit to view and that he will cause my descendants to be numerous and successful. Let him behold and accept.

Prayer at casting off mourning.

I never forget my father, who so suddenly left this world, but whom I can never requite, nor shall ever cease to lament; the prescribed mourning I have carefully worn for three years according to ancient custom. To-day, alas! I put off my mourning, and having prepared a few things hereby announce a trifling sacrifice; the sighing of the trees, even, could not express all my feelings. I beg you to look at me in kindness, and ever continue to descend and bless this family.

A day having been selected for the funeral within the forty-nine days of deepest mourning, the cortége is made ready; the third seventh is esteemed the most propitious day for it. This period of mourning can be observed in the house, if the family sepulchre be at a distance, and the coffin afterwards remain there for an indefinite time. Sect. CLXXXI of the Code is intended to regulate the undue detention of a corpse in the house; and Sir John Davis mentions a case of a suit instituted by the son of a hong-merchant against his elder brother for needlessly detaining their father's body in the house, and refusing to divide the patrimony, until it was buried. The suit was brought under the section just referred to; in this and the two preceding sections are contained all the regulations in the statutes respecting mourning.

While the coffin lies in state, extraordinary ceremonies are observed by rich families for the repose of the soul, but no rules are laid down; they are done partly from religious motives, and quite as much for vanity and display. The following description of some funereal ceremonies observed at Ningpo affords an instance of the manner in which this object is sometimes sought.

"It was a procession of boats in honor of the spirit of the mother of a very rich man, some ten days after her death. The house in which I live is situated just on the borders of a small lake, or pond, in the city, and it was on this lake that the procession occurred. It was on Sabbath evening. I first heard a noise of people talking in loud tones on the opposite side of the water. On looking from the window to see what was the cause of it, I was surprised to see a large number of people moving about with lanterns, and several boats close by the house, gaily decorated and brilliantly lighted up. Upon the bow of the first boat in the procession stood a high column of square lanterns made of horn, and suspended between two upright posts, like a ladder. In the second boat were two similar columns, rather smaller. Other boats were at the same time emerging successively from under the arch of a small but beautiful bridge, at a short distance from the house, and as they entered the wider part of the lake, were distributed over it in all directions. Upon these boats a frame-work was put up, on which were suspended large paper lanterns, arranged in various figures, and shedding a

brilliant light into the surrounding darkness. In several of the boats, there were placed upon platforms, groups of figures made of paper, representing ladies dressed in gay attire. These, I presume, were to be burnt, and thus transmitted into the world of spirits, to be companions and servants for the spirit of the deceased. During all this time a deafening noise was kept up. On shore the spectators were loudly calling to each other, and their innumerable lanterns were seen, gliding hither and thither in the darkness. On the lake there was the sound of a brass gong and of wind instruments, played by the hired musicians, while the air resounded with the incessant explosion of sky rockets, which were kept flying upwards from all parts of the lake. A variety of fire-works added to the brilliancy of the scene. Occasionally, the eye would be almost dazzled by the sudden starting of a fire wheel, sending forth, as it whirled rapidly round, showers of sparks, and shooting rockets into the air, and winding up with a whole volley of rockets flying in all directions. Small boats were gliding about, placing lights in small floating gourds upon the water. In a short time the bosom of the lake seemed to be lighted up with lamps floating upon the surface of the water, and as the articles on which they were placed could not be seen, it looked as if the fire itself was floating on the water.

“One boat, larger than the rest, attracted special attention, and as it came close under the window, I had a good view of it. It was decorated more gaily than the rest, with innumerable lanterns, and colored paper and tinsel glittering in the bright light of the lanterns. It was covered by a canopy, under which sat several persons, dressed in white, and near them a table was placed, covered with a great variety of dainties. This boat was the one in which these people thought the departed spirit was present, and the food was placed there for its use. After remaining a short time, the boats all returned by the same way they came, but afterwards passed and repassed the part of the lake on which I live several times, keeping up the constant noise of gongs and rockets, fireworks and musical instruments until a late hour in the evening. All this was in honor of the spirit of the person who had just died. Very few people are rich enough to make such splendid exhibitions in honor of their deceased friends, but all do as much as they can to testify their respect and affection. All this display must have cost a great deal of money as there were more than twenty boats and many hundred lanterns.”—*Foreign Missionary*, 1847.

The practice of burning models of houses is not common, for few families can afford it; and among those who can, a lurking unbelief of its efficacy excuses them from the practice. Sometimes, however, it is done with a great expense; at Kingqua and Howqua's funerals several hundred dollars were lavished to provide them with a complete establishment in the spirit-world. The following notice of one seen at Amoy is generally applicable, but the practice appears to be more common there than in Canton.

“It was made of richly-colored paper, pasted over a frame-work of bamboo

splints, and though it was about the size of an ordinary sedan-chair, yet it was very light. When I returned it was gone, but in an adjacent shop, there was a splendid paper house. The frame-work of this frail structure was also made of bamboo splints. It was some four feet wide in front, extended about three feet back, and displayed all the characteristics of Chinese architecture. The interior was furnished after the taste of this people, in the most approved style. In one apartment was a paper dish, out of which a paper pig and a paper fowl were feeding. In another apartment was a paper servant sweeping, and other paper servants were carrying various things about in paper baskets swung on the ends of poles laid across their shoulders. Away in the back part of the house was a paper shrine, with its paper gods and other appurtenances. The whole structure was elevated about two feet above the ground, and presented a very rich and gaudy display."

In the southern parts of China, the sides of hills, and places elevated above the water, are selected for burial spots; but in the northern provinces, this point is not so carefully attended to, nor in fact is so much care there taken to bury the dead. The selection of a family sepulchre is supposed to be a matter of great importance to the prosperity of the family, and is intrusted to the skill and science of a professor of the *fung-shwei*, or geomantic art, whose directions are implicitly followed; and who usually takes up his abode with his employer until the place is fixed upon. We have no very clear notions of the principles on which these men determine the good or bad character of a given spot, and the people who employ them do not disturb their faith by examining very deeply into the matter. A few remarks on this point are given in our last volume, page 537; an inquiry into the rules usually followed in relation to this subject, would produce a curious chapter in the history of human error. A gentleman at Amoy mentions a case in which after a geonancer had selected a lucky grave and the body was buried, he was attacked with sore eyes, which he ascribed to the effect of some poison given him by the family of the deceased; in revenge for this treatment, he hired workmen to remove a mass of rock near it, and thus completely spoiled its efficacy.

When the family has removed from its original seat to another part of the country, with the expectation of returning, and has no family sepulchre in the place where it sojourns, the coffin is frequently deposited in public temples or dead-houses built for the purpose, called *chwáng 庄*, a small sum being annually paid for the rent and services of a priest to burn incense before it. The coffins of such persons are also kept in their houses for years; and cases are not uncommon in Canton where there are six, ten, and even more, of these melancholy relics resting in the *lararium*.

The funeral procession is generally made as showy and diversified as the means of the family will allow, by hiring musicians to play, engaging coolies and pavilions, to carry and enshrine the tablet, sacrifices, and effigy, with banners, tablets, and other articles, most of which are hired for the occasion. The following account of a funeral at Amoy is in the main also applicable at Canton.

“On the day of burial a table was set in the street, well-furnished with pork, fowls, cakes and vegetables, for the use of the spirit. The coffin was then brought out and placed on trestles, followed by the mourners, consisting of a dozen females, and several men and boys. All were clothed in coarse brown sackcloth, the females wearing a somewhat finer article, however, than that worn by the others. A cowled head-dress, falling below the shoulders in front and behind, completely concealed the faces of the females from public gaze. Not much loud lamentation was made, but some of the females embraced the coffin; a band of music in attendance played throughout the services. First, a man, boy and child approached and kneeled before the table on a mat. Two persons in full mourning, one on each side, stood at the head of the table to officiate, and handed to the worshipers, after their first obeisance, two lighted incense-sticks to each, excepting the child. Having made obeisance with these, they were passed to the second man, who placed them in a basin of ashes on the table, and the worshipers prostrated themselves with their foreheads to the earth. Remaining in this posture for a time, the assistants took hold as if to raise them up. They then arose, bowed, again prostrated themselves, and retired. The child being too young to go through with these exercises himself, the person carrying him assisted him to do so. The females now approached by threes, and worshiped in much the same manner. Another man now came forward, followed by a boy, both in full mourning, and as the man prostrated himself, the boy behind carefully imitated him. These all then retired to the opposite side of the table, and remained bowed with their faces to the ground till the services were through, when the *friends* came forward by threes and worshiped after the same form. These were dressed in ordinary white clothes, with the mourning head-dress of white muslin. This is a neat article, formed by plaiting the cloth for the body of the cap, and having the plaits running from front to back, properly confined by a band, like any other cap. A boy in full mourning stood by, and went through all the prostrations with the whole number of friends. After all had paid their homage, a quantity of silvered paper was burnt, and then the burial procession was immediately formed. This consisted of the musicians, a chair carrying the effigy, the male mourners and friends and attendants with baskets containing the sacrifices, or others with more paper and some articles of dress, including a holiday cap for some ceremonies at the grave. The female mourners accompanied the procession a few steps to the end of the street, and then again met it on its return, with lamentations.”—*Miss. Chronicle*, 1846, page 50.

As the funeral procession proceeds through the street, the musicians play dirges at short intervals, and the chief mourners, completely dressed in sackcloth, and the friends wearing white caps, follow them. A man precedes the coffin to scatter round pieces of paper along the road; this is called *fang lú ts'ien*, i. e. 'scattering road money,' each of these slips of paper being regarded as current money in hades, and now used to buy the goodwill of malicious, wandering elves, that they may not molest the wraith of the deceased on its way to the grave—many persons supposing the spirit accompanies the coffin to the grave, and the chief mourner frequently carries a banner with the epitaph of the spirit written on it to show it the way to its long home.

The order of a large procession is somewhat as follows. First, the person who scatters the paper money; then come those bearing large white paper lanterns on poles, having the titles borne by the deceased written thereon in blue characters; these are followed by the principal band of musicians, between which are carried ornamental banners and flags bearing inscriptions of a general nature, notices to people to retire aside, official tablets, &c. In front of the tablets are two persons with gongs, who beat the same number of strokes the deceased would be entitled to if he still held office. An incense pavilion, or *hiáng ting*, and a second, bearing a roasted pig, accompanied by mourners, the two separated by an embroidered banner and followed by musicians, come after the tablets; a third pavilion, containing fruits, cakes, comfits, &c., and perhaps others, succeed, each containing portions of the sacrifice. These *ting* 亭 or pavilions, are square stands of wood, covered by a light roof or cupola, and when new look very rich from the carving, gilding, and gay colors put upon them; they are borne on light thills like a sedan. After the sacrifice come the retinue of priests, preceded by lanterns showing the name of their monastery, and an altar containing their implements; then follow some of the relatives and servants, the latter bearing trays of betel-nuts pipes, &c, as refreshment for the mourners, succeeded by more banners and musicians. A splendid shrine containing the picture or tablet of the dead, and supported by the nephews or grandchildren, as bearers, follow the priest; between this and the coffin, a number of children attend carrying baskets of flowers or little banners, with the chief mourner, who totters along by himself, supported under the arms by servants, exhibiting the greatest sorrow, as if he was just ready to drop down with grief. His head has not been shaven since his father's death, and perhaps his face has not been often washed; his clothes are awry, and his gait and aspect altogether are negligent and slovenly.

The pall, or *kwán chau*, is frequently a rich piece of silk embroidery, of many colors, and covers the coffin completely, the fringe reaching nearly to the ground. The crowd of mourners, among whom servants bearing the younger children or grandchildren on their backs, and other attendants, bring up the rear. The length of a procession is sometimes half a mile, and even more, especially in the country, where the villagers are attracted by respect or curiosity to attend it.

The forms of graves vary in different parts of the country, and their locations are unlike. In the south, an elevated, dry, location is chosen, one that commands a good prospect, and if possible a view of the water; in the northern provinces, cultivated and low land is frequently taken, and the graves occupy less space. There are no grave yards in Chinese cities, but the people prefer lonely and waste spots, where the sighing trees can wave over the dead, and the melody of nature refresh the departed spirit. In the south, the grave is usually constructed somewhat of the shape of the Greek Ω , or perhaps better, of a great arm-chair, in which the spirit can recline at its ease. The mason-work in the back of the supposed chair is built up with the tombstone in it, and the coffins are deposited in the seat. In large graves, behind and above the back are two small stones with two characters cut on each to define the limits of the grave, or as it is in Chinese, of the *tsch* 宅 or home of the dead. Some of the family sepulchres around Canton are further ornamented with sculptured lions to guard this *dwelling*; but at the north, images of various animals are sometimes placed in a line, making an avenue leading up to the tomb. There too, the grave is shaped like a pyramid, or a box, and occasionally a stone supported on posts covers the naked coffin. The poor are often merely thrown on the ground there to lie till their remains moulder to dust. The coffins are made of planks half a foot thick, called *shau pán*, or longevity boards, and are rounded on one side, so that when put together the coffin resembles a section of the trunk, of a tree. The rich frequently provide their own coffins before death, spending scores of dollars in buying fragrant and durable woods; these are kept in the house, or near the door, ready for use.

In some cases a mat shed is erected over the grave, in which the priests perform a variety of ceremonies for the repose of the departed, similar to those observed at the house; but usually the coffin is merely buried with the burning of crackers and papers, and the repetition of prayers and wailings. The following prayers are said by the eldest son, and then burned; though it should be added that but few persons offer them; they give over the business of praying to the priests.

Prayer at burial.

I beg to announce to my parent (*Sieh Ngánking*), that since my father cast off this world, and departed, I shall cherish my grief to the end of my days; I have constantly kept it in my own breast morning and evening, yet sorrowing in vain. Having divined favorable auguries, with thankfulness I come here to a lucky spot where the wind dwells, and the dragon's pulse rests. On this lucky day I take up the coffin and place it; the form returns to the grave, and the spirit to the hall; they will remain there thousands of generations. Being now settled in this place which is so beautiful and desirable, may you abundantly illuminate your posterity, that happiness and emoluments may be granted them, obtained by your goodness. Be pleased to regard this.

Prayer to the genii of the hills.

I beg to announce to the terminalia of this hill, saying, The fortunate divination of my parent has directed me to this spot, and I now, on opening the ground respectfully announce it, with entire sincerity, praying you to come and extend your protection that my ancestors' souls may rest quietly, and my posterity be prosperous.

After the grave is covered, prayers are again offered, after which the procession disperses.

Prayer when the burial is over.

Since my father died, my mournful thoughts have never been forgotten. Not obtaining a lucky place, I was uneasy night and day; but having now divined the good influences of this hill, I now place you here, by which I shall receive felicitous omens: the form returns to the grave, the spirit to the hall, there to remain for aye, for endless generations. May your fame affect your posterity, and you be glorified at their success.

Prayer to the genii after the funeral.

My parents are reposing quietly in their dark abode, the sextons have finished their work, the little firs are freshly waving around, and I with sincere feelings, prostrate beg you to accept the sacrifice of clean viands here spread out, and cause happiness to descend, through the merit of the living and dead, for ever upon this place.

The friends sometimes offer their requiem also, though this is not usual; but as it need only be written and burned, it imposes no great labor upon them; the following is given in the Family Ritual.

Plaint offered by the friends.

We call upon our lord, Ah!
 The equal of Káng Sz';
 We invoke her now at peace, Ah!
 Whose virtues are like Wan Ki's:
 Now suddenly you've left the world, Ah!
 Your honored names will never rot;
 You've sought the shades to rest in peace; Ah!

The location of the spot is striking,
 The beauty of a thousand hills are centred here, Ah!
 And the dragon coils around to guard it;
 A winding stream spreads vast and wide, Ah!
 And the egrets here collect in broods.
 Rest here in peace for aye, Ah!
 The sighing firs above will make you music;
 For ever rest in this fair city, Ah!
 Where pines and firs will cover and cheer you.
 Friends and kin in crowds now collect, Ah!
 Here at your dwelling to salute you.
 Our mean libation with humble mind we pour, Ah!
 And looking up, your favor we implore.

When the family returns home, some of the Chinese believe the spirit also comes back to the house; others, that one of the three souls remains at the grave, a second in the tablet, and a third dwells in the spirit world. The tablet is now formally installed among the congregation of tablets in the lararium, and worshiped with its fellows. When the *shin chú*, 神主 or tablet, is set up, a prayer is said and burned.

Prayer on setting up the tablet.

The paper tablet has gone to its sepulchre, the spirit has come back to the hall; the tablet being finished, prostrate I implore the honored spirit to leave the old and come to the new [wooden] tablet. I depend on your protection.

It is said that at the ancestral temples of the emperors of former dynasties kept at Peking by government, where tablets of the noble and wise of former ages are ranged in dusty rows, those of wicked kings are rejected as unworthy to appear in such good company; if this be so, it offers an unexpected illustration of the custom of the Jews of not burying their bad kings in the sepulchre of David, inasmuch, as the intention in both cases was to brand them with infamy.

The great festival in the ancestral ritual is on the first day of the term of *Tsi-ngming*, which commences during the first half of the month of April. The ceremonies of sweeping the grave can be performed during any of the thirty days following, but the first day is the luckiest. Early on this day, the men and servants of the family repair to the grave to *pái shán* 拜山 (i. e. worship the tumuli), or *pái fan* 拜墳 (i. e. worship the grave), carrying with them a sacrifice of meats, vegetables and spirits arranged on a tray, a quantity of incense-sticks, fire-crackers, and gold and silver paper, with a broom and hoe. These last mentioned are first used; the weeds that have sprung up during the year around the grave are pulled up, and the filth or rubbish is swept away; the offering is then spread out, and the gold and silver

papers burned, to supply the spirit with food and money during the coming year. Slips of red and white paper, two or three feet long, are secured to the corners of the grave as evidence of the rites having been performed; the appearance of a hill-side, with thousands of these testimonials fluttering in the breeze, is singular. The eldest worshiper then repeats one of the following prayers, after which it is burned, amidst the explosion of crackers. From these prayers, as well as other evidence, it is plain that the Chinese regard their departed relatives in the light of intercessors with higher powers, and trust to their good offices to cause blessings to descend on them.

Prayer at the tomb.

The spring dews are now distilling their fertility, and my grief cannot be forgotten. I improve the time to examine and sweep the grave, and visit the fir hall (the tomb). Prostrate I pray your protection to surround and assist your descendants, that they may be powerful and honored; let every son and grandson in the house receive a happy sign, and become conspicuous over all, their fame rivaling the lustre of their ancestors. Looking up, we pray you to descend and accept our sacrifice.

Another.

The enduring virtue of our ancestors has descended upon their posterity for hundreds of years, and their literary reputation has been our inheritance. Now rain and dew cover the heavens, I soothe the sorrow of my heart; hearing the lamentable cry of the cuckoo stirs up my grief; and I, with my sons and grandsons, having prepared a little incense, and a few sorts of viands in common dishes, desire to show some little respect; and having poured the sweet waters of Spring River into mixed wine, I beg to announce it for my ancestors' acceptance. I have suspended the money slips, and burned the yellow prayers, uniting them with the incense of the sandal-wood, that they may induce you, from the pure ethereal, to descend as a butterfly upon my offering. Looking up I pray for your penetrating glance, and implore unlimited blessings upon us, that all our plans for wealth may be abundantly gratified, and those who are scholars may all become the lights of the country.

Another.

May the virtue of our ancestors enrich us, and never cease its influence. Remembering the dew of spring is now descending, we sweep the grave and spread out the feast; the sacrificial papers flutter on the hills, the incense collects over the tomb, and its smoke curls up wards like the fittings of a butterfly, apt emblem of the sorrows of our hearts. May your pervading influence and presence be here, and look at this poor repast, and cause that your posterity may ever be found, glorious and prosperous to distant ages.

Another.

This 13th year of T'aukwang (1833), or *Kwei-sz'* (the 30th of the cycle), in the second month, the 16th day of the moon, at the happy Tsing-ming term—propriety requires that the spring sacrifice should be offered, the grass mowed down, and the brambles cut away. Reverently have we prepared pigs, sheep,

fowls, and fresh hams; seasonable vegetables, fruits, incense, rich wines, gold, silver and precious things (i. e. tinsel papers); and venture to announce the same to the soul of our great Progenitor, the venerated Prince.

Behold! man has progenitors and parents, as water has springs, and trees have roots. When the roots strike deep, the branches are abundant, the foliage rich, and forests are formed. When springs of water are large and flow far, they enrich the soil, and diffuse fragrance. We look wishfully and pray the souls in hades to shelter and assist us, their descendants; that we may be prosperous; age after age may be decked with badges of honor; may long enjoy riches and ranks; may, like the melon-creeper and the cotton fibre, be continuously happy and never extinct; and for myriads of ages may be illustrious spirits. Prostrate we pray you to come to enjoy, and view these sacrifices. With sincerity these prayers are offered up.*

There is but little difference between these several forms, and many persons do not pray at all to the manes, but content themselves with going through the ceremonies. After the preceding prayers, the following is addressed to the Terminalia, a class of imaginary beings who are thought to have great influence upon the happiness of the deceased and the fortunes of his family.

Prayer to the Hau-tü, or Terminalia.

May the spirits of this deity long protect this citadel; my ancestors quietly repose in this tumulus, and for years and months have trusted to their unbounded protection. At this genial period, when the spring is passing away, I worship and repair the tomb, and with solemn care lay out the sacrifice and libations to show the sincerity of my heart, which I humbly pray you to come and accept. Let your protection be over the sepulchres of my fathers, and your blessing open out upon their numerous descendants, and cause coming generations to be honored.

*“How the Chinese Confucianists reconcile these observances with the doctrine of annihilation at death, we have not been able to ascertain. We have found nothing in books that throws light upon this dark subject; nor have received anything but evasive answers from the natives with whom we have conversed. One person denied that the Confucianists taught annihilation: they simply (he said) in imitation of Confucius, lay aside the subject of God and religion, the soul and its immortality, and affirm nothing concerning them. This is practically much the same as denying the existence of God and the soul altogether. For if he exists, and the soul is immortal, the duty of creatures towards Him, and the eternal consequences of their actions, are not subjects which a rational being, much less a sage, or wise man, would entirely dismiss from his thoughts and his conversation. But it is the fact, that many of the Confucian sect boldly deny the existence of a soul separate from the body. And we have read Chinese statements, which turned the doctrine of rewards and punishments into ridicule, because at death the whole man was dissolved or “dispersed,” and returned to earth, or water, or air: so that if any power wished to punish man after death, it was impossible to do it, for there remained nothing to be punished.

“Common sense and reason suggest another difficulty arising from these *innocent rites* as some call them. How Buddhists in China who believe in the punishment of bad spirits in a separate state, reconcile the idea of wicked ancestors, who are themselves suffering punishment, being able to help their descendants on earth, we cannot tell. Its consistency is not a quality of superstition. We leave the matter where it is; and sincerely pray that China may soon be illuminated by the Gospel of Christ, which brings “life and immortality to light;” and directs sinful and weak man to a better Savior and Helper than the shades of deceased ancestors.”—*Miscellanea Sinica*.

If the grave is ruinous, or the coffins fill up the cavity, it is repaired, the coffins opened, and the ashes taken out and placed in jars, each one being marked; they are then reburied, and the grave closed, when the following announcement is made.

Announcement when repairing a grave.

From the time when my ancestors were gathered to their rescuing-place I have not had the leisure to guard its borders with trees, but my mind has not been easy about it. I have now renovated the gravestone and altar before it, with the epitaph; be not alarmed or fearful, for all is now completed in order, and your spirit will be glorious. Be pleased to look upon this slight respect, and let this fortunate sign move you to come and bless your posterity with prosperity, and keep up the family for ever.

In addition to the Tsing-ming, the Chinese observe another festival in the seventh month, popularly called *sháu í*, i. e. burning clothes, at which time they burn great numbers of paper garments for the use of their relatives, together with gold and silver paper.

The ceremonies attending the worship of deceased relatives are few, and easily performed. A servant, a child, or the keeper of the family temple, every morning and evening lights a few incense sticks, and bows before the tablets and shrines as he thrusts them into a tripod; on the new and full moons, he buys a few candles and gilt papers, and burns them in the family sanctuary and at the threshold; and lastly, in the spring and autumn, he repairs to the grave and offers his prayers and petitions, accompanying his worship with fire-crackers, burning papers, and offering a sacrifice of flesh, fruits, and spirits, which is then carried home, and furnishes a sumptuous feast for the household. The occasion calls together the scattered members of the family, and the annual reunion being accompanied with good cheer and the pleasant company of loved ones, the worship of ancestors is indelibly associated in the minds of children with the most delightful recollections of youth. There is nothing revolting or obscene, no celebration of bacchanalian orgies, no horrid sacrifices of human beings, in all these rites; everything connected with them is orderly, kind, simple, and decorous, calculated to strengthen the family relationship, cement the affection between brothers and sisters, and encourage sentiments of filial reverence and obedience. In the course of ages it has had an influence in the formation of Chinese character, in upholding good order, promoting industry, and cultivating habits of peaceful thrift, beyond all estimation. Yet with all these features, its spirit is in direct violation to the spirit of the Bible, it wholly fails to satisfy the longings of the soul of man, and is as idolatrous in its nature as the worship of Moloch or Baal-peor.

The ancestral tablet is simply a piece of wood (chestnut is most orthodox), "twelve *tsun* high to represent the twelve months, four *tsun* broad to denote the four seasons, and twelve *fan* thick to represent the twelve hours; the top is rounded like heaven, and the bottom flat like earth." In a family temple they are ranged on the shelves in chronological order, the number gradually increasing downwards, beginning with the founder of the family down to the last generation. The inscription on it is short, as can be seen in these two.

MOTHER'S TABLET.

Hwáng 皇 [Of the] Imperial
Ts'ing 清 Ts'ing [dynasty],
hien 顯 this illustrious
pí 妣 consort,
lì 例 expecting
tsang 贈 to receive
jü 孺 } [title of] lady,
jin, 人 }
Hwáng 黄 Hwáng
mú, 母 mother,
Chin 陳 Chin,
t'ai 太 noble
kiun 君 family
chì 之 's
shin 神 spirit's } tablet.
chú. 主 lord. }

FATHER'S TABLET.

Hwáng 皇 [Of the] Imperial
Ts'ing 清 Ts'ing [dynasty],
hien 顯 this illustrious
káu 考 completer of probation,
tang 登 who reached a
sz'- 仕 }
tso- 佐 } sub-magistracy,
láng, 郎 }
wei 諱 named
Ching- 成 } Complete-
teh, 德 } Virtue,
shì 諡 shrined
Yung- 永 } Eternal-
fáh 發 } Progress,
Hwáng 黄 Hwáng
kung 公 lord,
fú 府 family's
kiun 君 prince,
chì 之 's
shin 神 spirit's } tablet.
chú. 主 lord. }

The father's is thus, "The tablet of Mr. Hwáng Yungfah (late Chingteh) the head of the family, - who finished his probation with honor during the imperial Ts'ing dynasty, reaching a sub-magistracy."

The mother's reads, "The tablet of Madam Hwáng, originally of the noble family Chin, who would have received the title of lady,

and in the imperial Ts'ing dynasty became the illustrious consort of her husband."

The title of the highest office held by the deceased is placed on the tablet, and his wife is worshiped with a corresponding designation, but no ancestral title is given to her, as to him; by the character *wei* 諱 is denoted the name he held in his lifetime, and by *shí* 諡 the ancestral name given him by some learned friend of the family after his death. In the back of each tablet a small hole is dug out, having a sliding cover, in which is placed a paper giving the date of the birth and death of the deceased, the number of children, and place of the grave. The tombstone contains an inscription similar to the tablet, with the addition of the place of residence, the time of burial, and sometimes the names of those who set it up. No sentiment, like those found on the stones in western graveyards, such as lines of poetry, texts, records of labors, biographical laudations, &c., is ever added. In China, all is severely simple, or (in our opinion) heartlessly formal.

The Chinese have great dread of the malice of *kwei* or friendless, hungry spirits, and have an annual feast in the autumn to propitiate them, which is celebrated with considerable show. The Buddhists and Rationalists both exert themselves to get up this festival, and for their emolument as well as the peace of the neighborhood, lead the people to spend much more money in these ceremonies than they can afford. The streets are covered with awnings, festoons of different colored silks are suspended across and along the street, having paper figures representing historical or religious events on small trays, large and small chandeliers, and various colored lamps and lanterns, hanging between them; the effect at night is splendid in the extreme. In a conspicuous place, an altar is erected, or sometimes half a dozen of them, surrounded with pictures, paper gods, and a deal of trumpery, before which these priests recite prayers. The following account by Medhurst gives a good idea of the objects and conduct of this festival.

"This, the priests put forth, as entirely a benevolent undertaking, and solicit subscriptions for it, on charitable grounds. The ceremony is generally performed during the seventh moon; and as each district, tything, and street, has hungry ghosts of its own, so each locality must have a separate sacrifice. A committee is appointed for collecting the funds and laying in the necessary provisions. On the day fixed for the ceremony, stages are erected; one for priests, and one for the provisions; flags and lanterns are displayed near, while gongs and drums are beaten to give notice to the forlorn ghosts, that a rich feast is provided for them; and then the priests set to work to repeat their prayers, and move their fingers in a peculiar way, by which means they

believe the gates of hell are opened, and the hungry ghosts come forth to receive the boon. Some of the spectators profess to be able to see the opening portals, and the scampering demons, pale and wan, with hair standing on end, and every rib discernible, hurrying up to the high table, and shouldering the baskets of fruits and pots of rice, or whole hogs and goats, as the case may be; and returning with satisfied looks, as if they had enough to last them till the next anniversary.

“The world of spirits, according to the Chinese, is like the world of men: and as in this life, it is impossible to live without eating, or to obtain comforts without money; so, in the life to come, the same state of things prevails. Hence, those who wish to benefit the departed, must not only feed them once in the year, but supply them with cash for unavoidable expenses. In order to remit money into the invisible world, they procure small pieces of paper, about four inches square, in the middle of which are affixed patches of tin-foil or gold-leaf, which represent gold and silver money; these they set fire to, and believe that they are thus transformed into real bullion, passing through the smoke into the invisible world. Large quantities of this material are provided, and sacrificial paper constitutes a great article of trade and manufacture, affording employment to many myriads of people.

“When the priests have gone through their service, and the ghosts are supposed to have been satisfied, a signal is given, and the rabble rush forward to scramble for what the spirits have left, which is all the material part of the food. It is amusing to see the eagerness and agility with which the mob seize on these leavings; for although the stage is generally twenty feet high, with the boards projecting about two or three feet beyond the head of the poles, the more expert manage to mount the high table, and engrossing what they can for themselves, bear it off, imagining that food over which so many prayers have been said, must be attended with a blessing. It is curious, however, to observe how hypocrisy creeps into a religious service of so anomalous a character. The provisions consist of fruits and confectionary, with rice and vegetables, piled up in basins and baskets, which to the eye appear full to overflowing; but in reality, the hollow of each vessel is filled with coarse paper or plantain stalks, and the provisions are only thinly scattered over the top. On being remonstrated with for thus deceiving the ghosts, the worshipers reply, that the spirits who are invited to the feast know no better, and by this means they make a little go a great way.”

Besides paying this attention to childless spirits, every district has a temple where the tablets of all persons whose families are extinct are collected, and a man is hired to burn incense before them; the buildings are called *wú-sz' t'ín* 無嗣壇 or orbate temples, and some of them contain several hundred tablets. A feeling of sadness involuntarily comes over the visitor as he enters one of these rooms, and sees these silent mementoes of families left without a name or a remainder among the living. The tablets are of all colors, ages, and sizes, gilded, plain, and worm-eaten, some of them black with the

smoke of myriads of incense sticks, others comparatively new, and others again partly worn. The room is silent as a grave, the tablets are covered with dust, and the perpetual smoke slowly curl up from the lighted incense-sticks; and as one goes from epitaph to epitaph, he almost begins to think he really has got among a company of spirits. Few records of the departed are more melancholy and saddening than an orbate temple in China.

This slight sketch of ancestral worship is incomplete, for the subject is extensive; but enough has been given to show its principal features. The nature of the opposition it will exert against Christianity is easily seen; for its associations are so pleasant, so domestic, and so gentle, that the heart itself rebels against adopting a faith, which disrupts all these sweet remembrances, even if the head be convinced that they are wrong. Further, even if the resolution be strong not to adore the "family lords," it is well nigh upset by the opposition of kindred, friends and neighbors, who bring their battery of menace, ridicule, and actual constraint, to overpower the wavering decision, and reclaim the wanderer to the bosom of his family. This superstition has so much in its ritual that is commendable, that it requires the teachings of the Spirit of truth himself to enable the half-enlightened Chinese to see the difference between what is due to parents in filial respect, and what is due to God in heartfelt worship. When the citadel of the hall of ancestors is taken, the stronghold of idolatry and superstition in China will soon surrender to the triumphs of the Gospel; and although but few persons have yet cast out the tablets from the *lararium*, they are an earnest of the peaceful victories of the Prince of Peace in this dark land.

ART. V. *What I have seen in Shànghái: position of the city; character of the inhabitants; mercantile interests; special enterprises; Mr. Fortune; open and secret excursions into the country; bad policy of the late plenipotentiaries; reasons for their conduct; Christian Missions; Committee of Delegates now engaged in revising the Chinese version of the New Testament, &c.*

DEAR SIR,—During the two years I have resided in Shànghái, having in the prosecution of my duties had occasion to pass through the city almost every day and often twice, and having had much intercourse with natives and foreigners, opportunity has been afforded me for gaining information, which may be acceptable to some of your readers.

Both as a mart for trade and as a field for missionary enterprise, Shánghái has superior advantages, which claim much more attention than it has yet received. These arise chiefly from its central position, by which it has easy communication with immense agricultural regions of great fertility, whose inhabitants are peaceful and passionately fond of traffic. Every one who visits this region of country, and has any acquaintance with the geography of the Chinese empire, will be struck with these advantages. Great as they are, however, they may yet be greatly augmented, whenever the Chinese will allow foreigners freely to traverse their country, and railroads shall have been constructed so as to facilitate communication between Shánghái and the neighboring cities of Hángchau, Súchau, Chinkiang, Nanking, &c.

In *character*, both physical and intellectual, the inhabitants here present a remarkable variety, differing in many particulars from what is found at the south. Taking the whole native population in one mass, it presents a very heterogenous aspect, and to ordinary moral influence as insensible as the very rock. Doubtless there are pearls and a few precious stones to be found in it; but in the mass, as I have yet seen it, the common and baser qualities greatly predominate. I will not however speak too confidently on this point, though one thing is certain; the minds of this people must be remoulded, and their manners greatly reformed, before they can rise; for as yet they are but half civilized, and need altogether to be animated by another spirit, whereof they are now wholly ignorant.

Mercantile interests, concentrated here, have raised this city to its present importance. But for these it would have continued till this day a mere country-market, and have attracted far less notice than Kito Point, or the lofty promontory of Shántung. The annual reports published by consular authority, and the monthly statements from the Chamber of Commerce, show the progress and indicate the prospects, of foreign commerce. The domestic trade is but little understood by foreigners. It is evidently very great, and its ramifications extend over all the empire. If by any means two short railways could be laid down—one extending to Hángchau and the other to Súchau, and foreigners allowed freely to visit and trade in those two cities, the foreign and domestic trade of Shánghái would both thereby be carried on upon a much larger scale. As in every part of China, inland communication here is slow, and often exposed to loss by reason of the numerous bands of ‘water thieves,’ who prowl over the lakes and canals, and secrete themselves along the coasts. Steam would set at naught these freebooters.

Since this port was opened by the treaty of Nánking in 1842, numerous special enterprises have been undertaken, by residents or visitors with the view to facilitate and improve their trade in tea, silk, &c. Having these objects in view, gentlemen have visited the districts where those staple commodities are produced. But all these visits have been made in direct contravention of the treaties; and consequently all notices of them, with two or three exceptions, have been concealed from the public. Mr. Fortune's "Wanderings" is a specimen of what might be afforded, if the travelers were under no restraint in giving publicity to their observations. This gentleman is now in Shánghái, having just returned from a long and very successful sojourn in the interior, where he visited those places most noted for the cultivation of tea. He has been sent out to China on this second visit as a special agent, I believe, for the purpose of introducing the tea shrub into India.

Open expeditions may be, and are constantly being made to such places around Shánghái as can be reached, and the visitors return to the city, in twenty-four hours. With this limitation, however—though a great encroachment on the old exclusive system—nobody is satisfied; for it is felt to be an unnatural and an unnecessary restriction on personal freedom. Consequently, secret expeditions—nominally so, and only to escape the censure of government—are continually being made. A long account of one of these, undertaken more than four years ago, has just been published in the Chinese Miscellany. The agents of government here, without an exception I presume, will never object to these expeditions, unless required to do so by some special circumstances, and in order to show respect to "treaty stipulations."

To me it has always seemed unwise and impolitic in the plenipotentiaries, to stipulate as they did touching this matter. It was right and politic enough perhaps, to limit the foreign commerce to a few ports; and it was right too, doubtless, to provide against the infraction of all the just laws of the land, and secure honor to those to whom honor is due. But it seems to me that the personal liberty of their countrymen should not have been thus taken away by solemn treaty. These stipulations have not been observed. They are felt to be unnatural and a grievance; and hence they will be a constant source of annoyance so long as they continue in force. The sooner they can be repealed, the better—the better for the Chinese, and the better for the foreigner. The foreigner here should have the same protection that he enjoys in his own country, and should also in like manner be held responsible.

Doubtless, when these stipulations were entered into, the plenipotentiaries considered that they were urged, nay bound, by *ample reasons*, to pursue the policy they did. Old custom, deep-rooted prejudices, and the "difficulty of exercising control over foreigners in China," were among the considerations that formed their list of "ample reasons." These and all other like reasons, however, are conceived by many to be more than canceled by the evils they have either continued to foster, or served directly to introduce. If foreigners were irrational beings, like tigers and vultures, forest-laws would then be called for, and restrictions upon the barbarians should be imposed. If the stipulations be just and are desirable, let them by all means be upheld; if otherwise, if they impose restraints both unnatural and unnecessary, let this appear, and let the way be prepared to introduce, by the earliest opportunity, a policy more congenial to the nature of free agents, and in better keeping with the spirit of the age.

Christian missions, established in this city and vicinity—destined ere long to introduce great and salutary changes—are justly becoming more and more the objects of attention, as well in China as throughout almost all Christendom. The idolatry of the Chinese, like an incubus has long been wasting and destroying the best energies of this people, so that they are in a great degree insensible, on the one hand to their own low and debased condition, and on the other to the new and life-giving influences that are coming into operation around them. Multitudes hear but understand not the "new doctrines;" and none of the Chinese are fully aware of the power the missionaries possess in having, in common with all their fellow-christians, what this people have not, a written Revelation.

The *doings of the Committee of Delegates*, now here engaged in revising the Chinese version of the New Testament, form a part of the plan of operations projected at a general meeting of Protestant missionaries held at Hongkong in 1843. The work, on which this Committee of Delegates has been engaged these two years past, is one of great importance and of no small difficulty; and when completed, it will come from the hands of the Committee a *new version*, rather than an old one revised. As very many of your readers can not but be interested in this great and good enterprise, I will here throw together a summary of facts which will illustrate its nature and the manner in which it has been brought forward, up to this present time.

Early in this century, and almost simultaneously (about the year 1810), two versions were commenced, one by Dr. Marshman in Bengal, and one in China by Dr. Morrison. These men had then but recently

entered on the study of the Chinese language. The former had the assistance of only one Chinese, a Mr. Lassar, an Armenian born in Macao. The latter was somewhat better provided with native assistants, and for a season was aided by Dr. Milne; and by the joint labors of the two, Morrison and Milne, a version of both the Old and New Testaments was completed before the close of 1819. That in Bengal had been finished about the same time.

In the meantime, as they passed from the stage, new versions were undertaken, and in due time completed and printed. But neither the old nor the new versions were sufficiently idiomatic; and a strong and growing desire for something better—a desire which was felt by almost every missionary—prepared the way for a general meeting, held at Hongkong, in 1843, “assembled for the purpose of taking into consideration the then present state of the Chinese version of the Sacred Scriptures.”

In regard to the versions prepared prior to that date, 1843—whether the old, by the missionaries who had then deceased; or the new, by the missionaries who were then still living—it should be especially borne in mind that they were all mainly the work of individuals, and of individuals laboring separately and under great disadvantages compared with what are now enjoyed. Much of this work, too, was performed while the translators were in the earlier stages of their Chinese studies, not indeed novices, but with knowledge far less matured and extended than was desirable. While I wish these things to be borne in mind, far be it from me to cast the least reflection on any of those labors, or in the least degree to depreciate their merits.*

When the missionaries were assembled in Hongkong in 1843, sessions were held on the 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, and 28th of August, and on the 1st and 4th of September, and the subject of revision thoroughly and deliberately considered. The gentlemen present were the Rev. Messrs. Medhurst, Dyer, Bridgman, Dean, Shuck, Roberts, J. and A. Stronach, Ball, Legge, Milne, Lowrie, S. R. Brown, and Docts. Hobson and Macgowan.

A resolution passed at one of those meetings relative to the most appropriate word for expressing the name of God in Chinese, decided that each station might temporarily use such word as it shall prefer. Another resolution laid out a plan as to the best mode of apportioning the work of revision among the various stations.

* See Vol. IV. pp. 249, 297, 393, &c., and Vol. XII, page 551, for further accounts of these versions, and this meeting of missionaries.

In accordance with this plan, which was so devised as to secure the talents of all the missionaries who might be disposed to engage in the work of revision, five local committees of stations were formed, and the work of revising the New Testament apportioned as follows :

Acts, and Hebrews to II. Peter, to the Canton and Hongkong stations ;
Mark, I. and II. Corinthians, to the Amoy station ;
Luke, Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians, to the Fuhchau station ;
Matthew, and Philippians to Philemon, to the Shánghái and Ningpo stations ;
John's Gospel and Epistles, Jude and Revelation, to Bangkok.

Owing to a variety of circumstances, which could not be foreseen, the execution of this plan was early retarded, and the plan itself considerably modified ; some of the circumstances I will mention. Mr. Dyer's early decease so altered the arrangements of others, that Fuhchau was never occupied by those who had intended to perform the work of revision assigned to that station. Sicknes called others away from their fields of labor. Besides, such was then the condition of the missions at all the stations (just after the close of the war), when their respective members were so fully occupied with other missionary duties, that very little time could be secured for the work of revision. Now that the country was in some degree open, those who had sent missions to China were anxious, as the missionaries themselves were also, that every possible effort should be made to *preach* the word. To do this was their *first* duty. The work of revision was conceived to be an object of secondary consideration.

Thus stood the case till February, 1846, when a circular was issued by the secretary of the General Committee, proposing that the Committee of Delegates should meet at Shánghái in September of that year. The missionaries in Canton, on account of the little progress that had been made in the work of revision, objected to this time of meeting, and proposed the 1st of June, 1847, which was agreed to, and notice thereof duly published.

Delegates were accordingly elected and assembled : from the Shánghái and Ningpo stations, the Rev. Drs. Medhurst and Boone, and the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie ; from Amoy, the Rev. John Stronach ; and from the Canton and Hongkong stations, myself. Not being able to obtain early opportunities for sailing, Mr. Stronach and myself did not reach Shánghái till the fourth week in June. Soon after our arrival, the delegates assembled on Monday, June 28th. Four days were occupied with preliminary arrangements ; and the following is a summary of the rules of order we adopted in Committee.

(1.) Three delegates shall form a quorum for business, provided they are not all from one local committee. (2.) Each meeting shall be opened with reading a portion of Scripture, and prayer by one of the delegates. (3.) The

recording secretary shall then read the minutes of the preceding meeting from a book, in which the daily attendance of members and the progress of their work, &c., are to be noted. (4.) The Chinese secretary shall then produce a correct copy of the portion of Scripture revised at the previous meeting; which after being read and approved, shall be kept on file upon the table for reference; and it shall be considered as the standard copy from which the work shall be printed. (5.) The Chinese secretary shall note in a book kept for that purpose (the Englishman's Greek-English Concordance), the rendering into Chinese of each Greek word; which book is to be kept for the use of the several delegates. (6.) Each day, before adjournment, the portion of Scripture to be considered at the next meeting shall be specified, that each member may duly examine and consider the same. (7.) In all ordinary cases each delegate shall have a vote; but if any one requires it, the vote shall be by stations, each station having but one vote. (8.) The method of proceeding in Committee shall be to consider verse by verse, word by word, allowing each individual opportunity to propose any alteration that may be deemed desirable. (9.) Any portion of the work that has been revised and approved may be reconsidered, if a motion to that effect be offered in writing. (10.) Any Protestant missionary who may be present at the meeting of the Committee shall have the privilege of expressing his opinion on any point under discussion.

These and other preliminaries touching the principles of translation having been adopted, the work of revision was commenced July 2d. This is the proper place to notice the state of the version as it came before the Committee of Delegates, from the several local committees of stations. It was found that much less had been accomplished than was anticipated—and for the reasons stated above. Consequently, the delegates felt that they were entering upon a most difficult and responsible work; and for this they have spared no pains in furnishing themselves with the necessary means in the shape of versions, commentaries, lexicons, etc., and with the best native assistance they were able to engage. At their third session for business, July 5th, the word Θεός came up; and with this they were occupied six months; and the question was then left undecided, the committee being equally divided in opinion. It was agreed, however, and with perfect unanimity, that, as they could not agree in the rendering of Θεός, this word, and the original for *Spirit* when referring to the Trinity, should be left untranslated by them, and that the work of revision should proceed. In deference to the wishes of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Committee of Delegates have resolved to follow the *Textus Receptus*, as proposed at the General Meeting at Hongkong in 1843; but for those wishes, they would have preferred to follow the Text as edited by Dr. Bloomfield, and thus secure the advantages which the researches of more than two centuries now give the Biblical student.

When the delegates again assembled to resume their work on the 5th of January, 1848, the Rev. W. C. Milne, who had been elected

by the Shánghái and Ningpo stations to fill the place of Mr. Lowrie, appeared and took his seat. The want of health at this juncture prevented Dr. Boone from occupying his place in the Committee. The other delegates, however, without further delay proceeded with their work,—their daily sessions extending from 10 A. M. to 2.30 P. M., allowing in the interval a recess of half an hour. The following memoranda will indicate the progress of their work. The revision of

Matthew's Gospel was completed May 30th, 1848.

Mark's Gospel was completed July 26th, 1848.

Luke's Gospel was completed Nov. 9th, 1848.

John's Gospel was completed Jan. 18th, 1849.

The Acts of the Apostles was completed April 19th, 1849.

Having thus gone through with the historical portions of the New Testament, it was deemed proper to take a review thereof. In this the progress has been more rapid, but not hasty; Matthew was completed May 8th; Mark, May 21st; Luke, June 16th; John, June 30th; and on the Acts, the progress up to this date has continued at about the same rate. This review finished, the other parts of the New Testament will be taken up in course, and the work carried on without interruption, I trust, till it is completed.

Adieu,

Shánghái, July 7th, 1849.

E. C. BRIDGMAN.

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences: Visit of the U. S. brig Dolphin to Formosa.*

THE U. S. brig *Dolphin*, Commander Ogden, has recently returned from her cruise to Formosa, and we have been kindly furnished with the following particulars of her visit to that little known island. The *Dolphin* left Macao June 12th, and Hongkong shortly after, arriving at Amoy *en route* on the 21st. Here her captain procured the services of a Chinese sailor who was acquainted with the harbor of Kílung, having already engaged two interpreters through whom he could communicate with the authorities. He reached Kílung harbor on the 24th, and the next day was visited by the naval officer in command, with whom presents were exchanged. The harbor of Kílung, or Killon as it is often written, lies between lat. 25° 09' and 25° 16' N., and long. 121° 43' and 121° 47' E., and is landlocked on all sides except the north, and here too ample protection is afforded from the waves by the coral reefs and a rocky islet, which bound the eastern side of the harbor, stretching round to the north. To one unacquainted with this harbor, it is not very easy of access, chiefly owing to the low shores and the absence of any prominent headland; the entrance can not be seen three miles off, and is rendered hazardous by the strong and varying currents which beset it, and the steep shores which prevent a vessel anchoring securely when she is in danger. A further acquaintance with the harbor lessens most of these hazards.

The country around it is well peopled by agriculturalists, and even the sloping hillsides are brought under cultivation, and their intervalles adapted to rice culture by terracing and watering the descending plats by leading the mountain

rills from one to the other. Many of the inhabitants attend to fishing, going out in fleets, and occasionally fishing in company by night with torches at the bows. The supplies to be had at Kílung consist chiefly of fish, vegetables, and poultry. Capt. Ogden remained only two days in the harbor, during which he visited the village of Kílung and some of the others; that town contains from a thousand to twelve hundred people; the others are smaller; in all of them the foreigners were received with great civility, and the inhabitants further gratified their own curiosity by going off to the brig in crowds.

The object of the *Dolphin* in visiting Formosa was explained to the magistrate of the place, who seemed to understand it fully, and ready to give all the information in his power. He strongly dissuaded Capt. Ogden from visiting the coal mines, which he said was the burial ground of the natives, who guarded the spot with great care against intrusion; and further added that the governor-general of Fuhkien had prohibited it. The mines seem to have been already examined, however, as we should infer from the following account written about two years since by a British officer.

"The coal appears very abundant, the sides of the hill being perforated in many places, and in one or two tunneled to the distance of about 40 yards, five feet by four, showing a distinct vein of about four feet thick, hard and easily detached, lying between a blue soft shale and sandstone. The slip lies about 24 deg. north-easterly, taking its direction from the valley at the commencement of the range of hills. The sides of the hills show numerous alternations of sandstone, shale, and coal, associated with beds of ironstone and old red sandstone. The quality of the coal is very good, heavy, brilliant, easily ignited, and burning with a bituminous gassy flame, leaving a very small quantity of ashes of a reddish white color. The practicability of working the coal appears not at all a difficult matter, plenty of wood growing on the spot which may be felled, and the largest about the size of sleepers for a tram road; the length of iron [rail] required is about a mile, and the ascent is one foot in fifteen. A canal or creek connects the road with the harbor, which is navigable for flat bottomed boats of four or five tons, and the coal would not have to be carried more than three miles and a half. The mine is 230 feet elevation by barometer. The coal and land around appears to be unclaimed, any one taking away as much as they like. The inhabitants themselves offered to bring us forty or fifty tons at a day's notice, at less than a dollar a ton; probably a much larger quantity might be obtained with a little exertion."

Since this was written, it would appear that the Chinese government has taken possession of the mines, and thrown impediments in the way of exporting the coal. The agents of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Co. made a contract with a Chinese some two years since for 700 tons of Formosan coal at \$7 a ton, but the contractor failed to bring any; and with the exception of 300 tons brought to Hongkong in a junk last winter none has been received from the island. Capt. Ogden was informed that no coal could be exported from Kílung, which probably referred to foreign vessels taking it; but he is of opinion that no effective contract could be made with any probability of success except with a high officer, and this could not be done without previous communication and understanding with the governor-general or the imperial court. The existence of coal at this accessible point, and the desirableness of depending less upon the supplies brought from Europe, will soon induce the foreign authorities in China to stir in the matter. Capt. Ogden corroborates what we have already heard respecting the good qualities of this coal, stating it to be easily kindled, and to burn a longer time than any mere bituminous coal he had seen, and with less coking. Those who used that imported last winter represent it as better fuel than Liverpool coal.

NOTE TO ART. IV, JUNE No. Since the publication of the narrative of the *Visit of the Preble*, we have learned that the suggestion made in the last paragraph of the account of the sailors, on page 331, that the government at Washington should communicate to Mr. Levyssohn its sense of his kindness to the captive Americans, had already been attended to by Commodore Geisinger, in his instructions to Commander Glynn.



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